



**THE THAWING
OF STEPHEN
HARPER**

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Oprah can't save
the Gap P.40



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for Quebec
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Barbara Joyce Serres, 1938-2007

48 A WILY WARLORD
Alghemstian's Gulbudin Holmetyar plays both sides: rapper Busta Rhymes suffers from MYPO blues, and Siebodin Milosavets's daughter is haunted by vampire hunters.

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'Despite the chattering and tittering of most of the Canadian press, Conrad Black is innocent until proven guilty'

BASIC BLACK

MY BOSS once told me that the difference between Canadian and American is American adroit entrepreneurs and with us emulating their success, while Canadians hate to wealthy status and take pleasure when a business leader stumbles ("Conrad Black: The crash of the century," *Comex*, March 12). I think it is shameful how Black has been treated by most of the Canadian print and political apparatus. Black has been vilified because his Christian beliefs prevent wealthy Americans from endorsing an untested law opposed to foreign titles for Canadian diplomats. A portrait was bestowed upon Black by Elizabeth II—Queen of Canada last year I checked. Furthermore, Black should be being Canada's state partner and not the highly visited U.S. prosecution/persecution system. It can't be stated enough that despite the chattering and tittering of most of the Canadian press, Black is innocent until proven guilty. **Michael T. Brown, Ottawa**

BLACK, though his sordid history of conspicuous consumption and institutionalized gluttony, exploitation (all that is wrong with corporate Canada), surely, your homage to this man deserves even further the falsifying stance of Maclean's as a magazine of interest to ordinary Canadians. **B. Lemerise-Soppe, Keweenaw**

ABSTRACT, COMMITTED, BENEVOLENT, ENLIGHTENED, pure to success? Conrad Black is undoubtedly all that and more. But shouldn't he know something I've read or heard? Pursuing this case in a public and venal way is of course, unethical, dishonest, and suspicious. I am sure that this is an overwrought collective act of self-defence by all concerned. **Ed Maclean, Mississauga, Ont.**

FEAR-FREE PARENTING

WE AS PARENTS have done a great job of keeping our children safe, but we haven't kept them smart ("The bubble wrapped child," *How we're letting kids with strings*," *Comex*, Feb. 26). Only half of Canadian kids get enough motivation for optimal growth and development. *Autism*, social disorder and family therapy. Michael Unger's experience shows us the emotional harm that can come from good intentions. In our efforts to keep our kids safe, we have limited their free-

dom to explore their world, ride their bikes, play real hockey and walk to school. These are not the inevitable losses of a changing time; they are choices that we are making—driven powerfully by fear. Fear of strangers, fear of injury and in the case of overhelminging, fear that our child is not keeping up with his peers. Chances are that we only wish the consequences of our actions. Unger helps us understand that over-protecting and trying to reduce the risk of physical harm to our kids leads to unreasonable life effects such as anxiety in teenage kids, hyperactivity in our younger children, lack of personal respect



while not acknowledging and often depression and disconnection. There is something we all do as parents we can shift the balance to our family through our scheduled activities to re-engage ourselves, where we give our kids time to play, not video games, but outside with a ball. We can get outside for 30 minutes between homework and dinner to shoot some hoops or turn the dropping rope. We can facilitate this play by meeting our neighbours and creating a "play in the park" night where neighbours work together to supervise a half-hour where all kids are social. We can walk our kids to school one day and let a friend to walk our kids another day. We can connect with what all of us as Canadians value—our neighbours and our community. Looking the grip of fear happens slowly as we get to know each other again. Just as our kids learn to walk, responsibility as they grow, we need to learn to give them

increased freedom and let them develop psychologically, physically and emotionally, so that the next generation will be able to take their kids experience all that life has to offer. Let's take off the bubble wrap and let our kids breathe. **William Kavanagh, Victoria**

WHEN MY 15-YEAR-OLD read your absurd interview, regarding killing kids with caution, it would have been that our eight-year-old son should be allowed to go to his very lake with his friends. Though his lake nearby was blacked from our home and the swimming area is supervised by lifeguards, it is directly across from a psychiatric hospital and a high school and is surrounded by forest and bike trails. Do you really want to encourage the kind of adventures that could wait our son there for his boy? Many parents believe, as I do, that we should teach our children the rules and common sense that they cannot learn from running all over town with their peers. If the children who killed Brent York, for example, had spent a little more time closer to home, perhaps Nelson would be alive today. **Cathy Nelson, Thunder Bay, Ont.**

BEING A 17-year-old female of overprotective parents, I definitely related to your cover article. Let's put my dad, I was, and still am, a bubble-wrapped child. My mother fears airplanes, driving at night, even the city of Toronto, and she passed those fears down to me. I will be handing this article over to my parents to read. **Roxanne Boydell, Toronto, Ont.**

CORN-FED CARS

IT'S BORING, but hydrogen is simply not the answer to our fuel-crisis problem ("Renewing your wheels," *Business*, March 5). Hydrogen is largely produced by burning fossil fuels or nuclear power, not hydrogen power does not produce fuel in clean cars that was produced in a dirty polluting plant. The real solution is ethanol. Unlike hydrogen, ethanol can be used in highly modified internal combustion engines. Ethanol can be sourced in its liquid form, removing the necessity of an intricate technology infrastructure. And, unlike hydrogen, people don't have to drive around with a gas tank full of flammable fuel in their tanks. Furthermore, ethanol is nearly 50 per cent cheaper

than propane to run a furnace and refine and produce more greenhouse gases if it is made from corn-based sources, such as sugar cane or corn. **Mike Dwyer, Saskatoon**

CLOTHES MAKE THE MP?

REMIAS Michel Rappaport's thoughts on the Ottawa news tell us more about the kids than we can handle (*Capital Daily*, March 12). For example, are there really people on the play roll who count jeans as a prison costume? Or worry about religion? Or which guys have long hair? For goodness sake. **Douglas L. Martin, Hamilton**

IT IS GOOD to see that clothing worn by MPs is actually being scrutinized on a light-hearted manner. The clothing habits of anybody sitting in Parliament have nothing to do with why they are there. If any member wishes to wear a mascot or a T-shirt and shorts or pajamas or, for that matter, nothing at all, it should not concern anyone. **Jerry Smith, Cornhill Highlands, B.C.**

SEX AND CHILDREN

ACCORDING to Barbara Gowdy for her candid and thoughtful comments on the difficult topics of adults, children and sexuality on the occasion of the publication of her new novel, *Helpless* (*Newsweek*, March 5). These recent times where appearance will be easily achieved or it even necessary. It takes courage and a democracy such as Canada, for a writer like Gowdy to be able to discuss, and explore in fiction, such huge and important questions. But I want to see this novel from one of our finest writers. **Janet Mowat, Toronto**

YOUR INTERVIEW with Barbara Gowdy was most enlightening. Gowdy's optimism was refreshing, confident and hypocritical at best, and hardly selfless. I want the justice current forms of sexual assault and violations the feelings of victims. Your magazine is read by youths, and this interview could have a tragically dangerous influence on young survivors of sexual assault. I want to tell all children this if they, or someone they know, has been touched in a way that they are uncomfortable with, they should talk to a friend, a social assault crisis centre or a school counsellor. **Karlsson Hughes, psychology graduate student, Carleton University, Ottawa**

NO MORE PARIS, PLEASE

MY NEARLY 30-year-old son is finding it ever more difficult to comfortably send your email page. I have shared a number of excellent letters and have a couple of suggestions for free



SAVE MY EYES: Please, no more Paris Hilton

ing up your editorial space without too much headbanging. They could eliminate all references to Paris Hilton and her ilk. Then you could perhaps Mark Sainsbury to cut all his references in half. **Elizabeth Hennessy, Keweenaw, B.C.**

ARMCHAIR WARRIORS

THANK YOU for your coverage of the Black Mirror Norman Goldman saga ("Fighting words," *Nationalist*, March 18). In the editor of the St. John's Independent, I say and thank you for not doing Mr. Goldman's work. We need to see that her distributive should be done aware that her distributive would be read. While I do not condone threats, I thank the only innocent victims. An amiable wife, I support our troops. They were asked to do a job and they are doing it honourably. Armchair commentary stops, but our troops are heroes. **Debbie Mulder, Newport, N.S.**

IN PASSING

Ernest Gellor, 97, was a maker. As co-founder of Ekl Gold Winery, he and brother Jello built a multi-million wine business serving middle-class tastes. Now, with the end of U.S. Prohibition, their California-made products remained a small-scale unit until the introduction of a did not succeed brand of fortified wine called Thunderbird. In the 1950s, Gellor developed higher-quality lines, and now produces 2.5 million bottles a day.

Jean Baudrillard, 72, philosopher, considered the father of post-modernism, he argued that humans find it difficult to distinguish reality from simulation. A native among French philosophers, he remained largely unnoticed as a young man, but became a leading figure in popular culture and communications.

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A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF HEATHER MILLS

The former Miss Paul McCartney lost credibility as an ardent supporter of PETA when old footage came out last week showing Mills in a lavish night club. Meanwhile, reports surfaced that she had finally accepted a divorce settlement from the ex-beatle worth roughly US\$16 million. On Monday, the gambling czar was hoping one announced it would rule on whether Mills' artificial leg will fall off during her performance on the ABC series *Dancing With The Stars*.

Good news

Lonely in Tehran

Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is running out of friends to tell his nation's quest for nuclear capabilities. This week, Russia, which until now has been Iran's most powerful ally, announced it would delay the construction of a large nuclear power station in southwestern Iran indefinitely. Some reports attribute the decision to a conflict over payments. Others say Russia is fed up with Iran for exploring its diplomatic support and not offering adequate concessions. Over discontented, Ahmadinejad means Iran on his country's right to explore a "peaceful" nuclear energy program. He now wishes to respond to his international critics—who believe Iran's true motive is to produce nuclear weapons—in person at the UN Security Council in New York City. Meanwhile, in what can only be read as an act of global defiance, Iran issued a new sentence on Monday for outrage over a symbol inspired on a map of Iran.

We're growing

According to Statistics Canada's 2006 census, our population grew faster than that of any other G8 nation between 2001 and 2006, thanks largely to immigration. Nearly per cent of the overall increase occurred in urban areas, particularly in Ontario, Quebec, Montreal, and the Calgary-Edmonton corridor. Canada's cash-strapped cities have been seeking a better fiscal arrangement with the provinces and the feds for years. This ought to help their case.

Fear not: it's normal

Terrigenom have a legitimate excuse for their braque mood swings—a hormone called THP.

U.S. scientists recently discovered that the hormone, which is released in most people to calm them in stressful situations, has the opposite effect on adolescents: it creates a surge of anxiety. While it's still unclear why this happens, scientists say the study will help parents gain a biological understanding of what's going on in their teens. In related news, Israeli scientists have discovered that testosterone, the hormone that triggers puberty, may help older women battle infertility.

Bad news

Money for nothing

No amount of spin-peddle to other wise seems to help the RCMP these days. After shelling out \$25,000 to a communications consultant to prepare their communications officer Giuliano Zaccardelli for his appearance last fall before a Commons committee, the force was treated to the spectacle of the boss screaming his testimony and, ultimately, resigning. In-house efforts to control public perception of the 2006 shooting of four officers in

Cpl. Jeffrey Scott Walsh. If convicted, Fraser could serve time in prison. This news comes just days after another soldier, Cpl. Kevin Meggery of Shelburne, N.S., was fired last week, reportedly for his part in the Somalia base Back in Canada, Master Cpl. Colin Fitzgerald, awarded the Canadian Medal of Military Valour in February for acts of courage in Afghanistan, was criticized by four men at a bar in Morrisburg, Ont., suffering a broken foot, bruised nose and two black eyes. One of his attackers twisted him, saying, "What kind of F-king hero are you now?"

Seeking to cover up

It's now for Israel to hire a new image consultant. Corruption scandals involving the country's top politicians seems to be breaking out every which way. This week, the apian hit a new low when Israel was forced to recall its ambassador to El Salvador after he was found inside his home, naked, drunk, and tied up in a bondage pose. And the bench army is again being accused by human rights groups of using Palestinian children, including an 11-year-old girl, as human shields in the West Bank.

Starbucks stumbles

Since mid-February, when an unusual memo from chairman Howard Schultz denying the "unimagination" of the Starbucks experience "we looked to the media, the risk had dropped by more than 50 per cent. Last week, Starbucks was expected to be embroiled in an ugly battle with the Ethiopian government, which wants the right to trademark the manual in coffee regions. The company, which makes some of "coffee calisthenics," is now in full damage-control mode. ■

Trouble in the ranks

On Monday, a Canadian soldier was charged in the Iraq. It shows the difficulty of the command in Afghanistan. Master Cpl. Bobby Fraser is charged with the course a female soldier and one course of negligent performance of duty in the death of Master

FACE OF THE WEEK



AN EXHIBITION from the Humanity Museum in Guadalajara, Mexico, including this infant mummy, will travel to North America this fall.

A sure thing

It's "roll up the rim to win" season again at Tim Hortons and we know what that means: millions of Canadians with inflated hopes and cracked fingernails from trying to unroll the edge of those cups. Luckily, Paul Blind, an inventor from Ontario, has introduced the RimRoller, an elegant little device that dauntily slices and unrolls the cup rim in one easy motion. No more hands-on coffee. Or, at least, no more hands-on frustration. The RimRoller, which can be carried in a keychain, is on sale at Lee Valley Tools stores across Canada for \$1.95.

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MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON BOB RAE'S NOT-GAY SHOCKER AND THE RUBY-PETER RUMOURS



RUBY DHALLA'S NO-GROOMING POLICY WAS BIG NEWS

WHY DID RUBY DHALLA CROSS THE FLOOR?

It all started when Liberal MP Ruby Dhalla wanted to pass a motion congratulating Conservative Candidates such as Deepa Mehta, Paul Hogg and Ryan Gorkin. It's always good to have representation from all parties to support your interests, so Dhalla got NDP MP Chaudhry and Bloc MP Mike Koolen, both of whom are Culture critics for their parties as well as per formers in their own right, to come on board. She also asked Foreign Affairs Minister Peter MacKay because the Ottawa role place on foreign aid. Dhalla walked over to MacKay's seat in the House with Liberal House Leader Ralph Goodale to see if MacKay would back the motion. Dhalla says it was the first time in her life she had ever spoken to MacKay. The conversation lasted a total of 30 seconds. She and Goodale then had to talk to Heritage Minister Bev Oda to make sure it was leader for MacKay and not her to support the motion. Dhalla had no idea what she had unleashed. What followed was a deluge of calls to her people asking if she was dating MacKay. Then the floor crossing

rumours started spreading. "I was not crossing the floor and I wish the rumour would be put to rest," says Dhalla, who notes that it's the kind of thing that "this side young women from getting into politics." Why, she quips, "doesn't anyone say anything about Bev and Ralph?"

PLEASE DON'T TELL BOB RAE THE NAME OF THIS PLACE

Bob Rae is taking up his campaign machine. With the announcement of Bill Graham's retirement, Rae has decided to officially seek the Liberal candidacy in Toronto Centre. That means he is hoping to represent a mixed riding that includes one of the poorest areas in Toronto, the 416, and Canada's largest gay village. It was for this reason that Rae recently made an appearance at the gay lounge Lili for a meet and greet. One of the evening's organizers, Matthew Chantale, who himself dropped out of the nomination race to back Rae, says Chantale's introduction he should tell Rae the bar was called "lib" (jokes with "lib") and not the name provocative

"lib" the name provocative Rae seemed right on time for the evening. All the A-list guys, such as philanthropist Sarah Richter and singer Carole Pope, were there in late. Pope seemed to have just stumbled in. "I didn't even know I was a Bob Rae supporter," she said. Like the fresh tonight guests, many of the food trays also came at the end of the night. Toronto's first and most successful and most successful took



BLDC POPS JOKE THAT PAUL GRIBBLE (LEFT) LOOKS A LOT LIKE JIM FLAHERTY



one look at the deeply appetizing and said, "I really didn't think there would be this many couples at a gay party." But he had a message for the crowd: "I'm not perfect. I'm not gay." So what we person thought back, "Now you tell us."

PLEASE DON'T MAKE ME HAVE TO SAY IT

Who is the real finance minister? It's a popular joke among Bloc MPs because of the fact that Paul Gribble looks a lot like Jim Flaherty in size and appearance. It's not the best of times to look like the finance minister he was assigned RCMP bodyguards because of death threats he received after announcing the closing of various trusts. Flaherty seems to have



BLDC POPS JOKE THAT PAUL GRIBBLE (LEFT) LOOKS A LOT LIKE JIM FLAHERTY

taken the extra protection in stride—what really seems here is the name of the NDP's finance critic. Flaherty can deliver a budget of billions, no problem, which he will do later in the year, but he can't pronounce Winnipeg MP Judy Wasylycia-Lee's last name. According to Wasylycia-Lee, Flaherty refers to other MPs in their finance committee meetings as Mr. or Ms. so-and-so. But when he gets to her, it's just "Judy." He's not alone. Gary Doer, the NDP pensioner of Wasylycia-Lee's home province of Manitoba who has known "Judy" for 20 years, introduced officials at public events with Mr. or Ms., but when he gets to Wasylycia-Lee, it's also "Judy." Jim and Gary, please note, it's pronounced Wasylycia-Lee. The key to no any "wends" with an "s" sound, just a "t" sound. ■

BOB RAE at a meet-and-greet-the-candidate party in Toronto's gay village with Mike Anoush (right) and Matthew Chantale.



ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa columns or to contact Mitchell Campbell, visit mitchellcampbell.com or mitchellcampbell@rogers.com

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MITCHELL CAMPBELL



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Blacks like me! Or, the madness of racial pandering.



ANDREW POTTER

The United States of America is an exceptional country in many ways, but nowhere is this exceptionalism more pronounced than with its attitude toward race. The complex blending of culture, race and politics has become a three-ring circus of lies, with the discovery that Al Sharpton's great grandfather was a slave to a distant cousin of Strom Thurmond at the centre ring, incited by the ongoing controversy over the blackness of Barack Obama on one side and Hillary Clinton's attempts to court the black vote on the other.

Latterly with Obama, who's been tagged by the question of whether he is "authentically black." The problem is not that he is of mixed race heritage, but where his ancestors come from. For many black Americans, especially those who came of age during the civil rights movement, to be an authentic African American means you are descended from west African slaves, but Obama's father was an academic born in Kenya.

This helps explain why Al Sharpton was so delighted a few weeks ago when genetic biologist researchers released a study revealing that Sharpton, a prominent minister and race activist, is descended from a slave owned by relatives of Strom Thurmond, a late-time segregationist and long-serving U.S. senator. Of course, Sharpton didn't exactly say that he was delighted. Responding to the report, what he said was: "It was probably the most shocking thing of my life... I couldn't describe to you the reactions I have had everything from anger to outrage to reflection to tears of pride and glory."

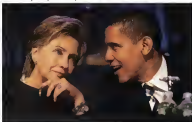
Which means, in essence, I'm most authentic if I'm descended from a slave owned by one of the last of America's segregationist politicians. It's maddening for all it was worth, citing this show how the discovery had helped to remind him that racism is not a part of America's distant past but its living present,

even that continues to distort the relations between blacks and whites in that country.

So when you poke it a bit, it turns out that the question of who is "really" black is all about whether you have the right politics. In his 2002 book *Authentically Black*, the linguistics professor John McWhorter writes that "what most regrets among a great many black Americans today that the 'authentic' black person stresses personal achievement and strength in private, but publicly values on the parade of victimhood as a public face." For McWhorter, being authentically black requires that you downplay or even deny any obvious achievements in the conditions of black America, in order to keep white America on the back foot. It's precisely because they are dis-

creet, such as doing well in school, getting a job, not breaking the law, is seen as selling out. In places like Harlem, the city of New York actually puts up billboards with a picture of a black kid wearing glasses. The text reads: "Cool has a new look, and then follow it." "Set how things look. Don't overuse—wear your glasses to school each and every day."

That's why Hillary Clinton's recent trip to Selma, Ala., in search of blacks supports it so maddening. On the one hand, her speech depicted a welcome return to the ideals of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the civil rights movement—justice, equality, and the end to legal forms of discrimination. The late voices shift from the narrow focus on discrimination to an obsession with the more diffuse



In her Selma speech, Clinton slipped into a southern drawl, trying to out-black Obama

word to "steeping whiteness on his face" that people like Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton are considered quintessential black leaders, and that because they don't blame whites for everything that the blackness of them like Bill Cosby and Barack Obama is called into question.

The cultural manifestation of "love your whiteness on his face" is "steeping it real," which involves a wholesale rejection of the values of white society. Indeed, the pressure on many blacks to reject the mainstream standards of success is so powerful that when black culture is now little more than a cult of fashionable social deviance. Equal parts gross conservatism and postmodernism, the hip-hop aesthetic worships at the altar of graffiti and G-funk, reggae on by beat while white headbangers and downtown barbers who like to talk gangsta after a day selling derivatives.

That has had a devastating effect on urban black communities, in particular on young men. Anything that smacks of "white" suc-

cession of "mainstream" was a mistake, leading away from a conservative desire for political reform to the more radical politics of Malcolm X and the Black Panthers.

But when she gave with the left hand she took back with the right. A number of times during her speech, Clinton adopted an outrageous southern drawl ("I don't feel no way satisfied"), for which she was subsequently mocked as "Kermit the Frog Hillary." It was a transparent attempt at out-black Barack Obama, who was speaking at a church nearby, and served to reinforce the long-standing suspicion that Clinton has her own agenda on race issues. Even worse, by trying to "play black" she was only reinforcing the perverse discovery a black author really didn't need to make trouble in the inner cities, and that gives professional victims and race baiters like Al Sharpton their credibility. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter visit his blog at www.usacollege.com/andrepotter

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Canada

THE WAR AT HOME

Airlifted out of Afghanistan, Canada's wounded warriors are waging a whole new battle on the home front. MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI explores the uncertain futures of three vets as they struggle to soldier on.

Michael Burnswell answers the front door. Like usual, he is home alone this afternoon. Dressed in plain white T-shirt and a pair of black Adidas warm-up pants, he is standing. The hospital tent has a small chair when he checked out, but he knows it is his crutches are somewhere to be found, either "You want a cup of coffee?" Burnswell asks, hopping toward the kitchen. He braces on his left foot, the one that didn't step on a land mine.

Cpl. Burnswell (everyone calls him "Barney") is 26 years old. He is blond and fit and drives a Ford F-150 pickup truck. "My baby," he says. Growing up in Essex, a small town near Windsor, Ont., Barney was always the fastest kid on the playground. Nobody could catch him. Lacrosse was his specialty. After high school he thought about going to speed to chase criminals, but college didn't quite pan out. So at 21, with three part-time jobs and an interest in being a firefighter, Burnswell was signed by a Canadian Forces recruiting officer. During one year—April 10, 2002—he signed a three-year contract with the army.

After basic training, he graduated as top athlete and top overall recruit—Burnswell was posted to CFB Petawawa, home of the 1st Battalion of the Royal Canadian Regiment. He deployed to Bosnia in 2004. Kabul was supposed to be next, but his section was scratched from the mission. Burnswell liked the infantry, but he couldn't quite picture himself as a leader. His plan was to sign a three-year contract, serve until 2008, then go for college a second try. "I still wanted to be a cop," he recalls, lying on the green couch in his parents' living room.

On Nov. 23, 2006, Burnswell was ordered to the Paktia region of Afghanistan. His job was to help build a new police force.

Over a train of engineers as they signed an abandoned enemy halfway with explosives. "We scared them," Burnswell recalls. "The engineers were carrying a whole bunch of stuff to myself and my section commander decided to go back and help them." He and five other troops marched on a single file, oblivious to the land mine buried in the dirt. "We already passed over it once," he says. "On the way back, I stepped on it."

Shrapnel and debris popped his right arm as he fell to the ground. "I started crawling," he recalls. "I could push with my left leg but I couldn't with my right. I knew I was moving my right leg because I had feeling in my knee, but I wasn't able to dig into the ground. I knew the foot was gone." Surprisingly, there was very little blood. The blast was so hot that it cauterized the wound.

Burnswell was airlifted to Germany, then Toronto. The mission severed everything directly below the ankle, but surgeons at Sunnybrook Hospital said he would have to live on it at least another six inches from his shin. A prosthetic leg will fit easier that way, they said. A short stump now dangles from Burnswell's right knee. To close the wound properly, doctors took a flap of skin from the back of his calf and wrapped it around the other side, leaving it that with a single line of 600 stitches. When he stretches the leg, it still feels as if he is crushing the back of his leg. "Sometimes it feels like it's still there," he says of his missing foot. "Not all the time, but sometimes. You'll even get phantom pains. Every now and again I feel a burning in the toes or something like that. Well, clearly I don't have toes."

In total, more than 100 Canadian soldiers have been wounded in Afghanistan—some severely, some less so. Nearly half—156—were so badly hurt they needed to be flown

back to Canada. Few have returned to work. Most, including Burnswell, have settled into a daily routine of physiotherapy and uncertainty. For them, the war is never proved to be much more than a six-month tour.

The Department of National Defence says it cannot tell if it is easier or harder to be a wounded warrior. It is not since Canada has the country welcomed home so many injured soldiers—and never before has the public been so interested in how those troops are treated. Consider last October, when the media discovered that DND cut "danger pay" bonuses for wounded soldiers evacuated from theatre. Attached by all sides, the Conservative government reversed the policy. Today, however, and the brass will say they are extremely proud of all the support systems in place for Canada's modern-day warriors, extended sick leave. Lifetime medical care. Financial compensation that can reach hundreds of thousands of dollars. In years past, Burnswell would have been posted to a hospital room in Ottawa for weeks of lonely rehabilitation. Today, soldiers are encouraged to recover at home, near their families. Nearly 30,000 American troops can't say the same. "If you are willing to give the ultimate sacrifice, the government has to be there for you," says Lt. Col. Gerry Stein, director of medical support for the Canadian Forces. "And we're going out of our way to make sure that's what we are doing."

Of course, there is one thing the army can't do: turn back time. All the financial benefits and all the moral support will not change the fact that hundreds of Canadian soldiers have been injured in Afghanistan—or that hundreds more will be. In the end, it is up to them—and their doctors—and every day, all across the country, anonymous police and captains and sergeants and the slow, monotonous grind of doctors' appointments and rehab sessions, teaching themselves to walk again or write again or remember things as easily as they once did. Some will see visible results. Others will only get to the end. And then there will be those dismissed few who come in unexpectedly close to recovery, only to be told—thanks to a controversial new policy—that their careers are over.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JENNY HUNTER

KINGSTON, ONT., FEB. 2: Michael Burnswell was back at his parents' house for the first time since basic training five years ago. He graduated top athlete and top overall.





ST. ALBERT, ALTA. / B.C. Mike Loewen was home for Christmas with his 11-year-old son.

remember who survived the call. "I think I saw a guy on a bicycle," he says, recalling that September foot patrol. "I was looking around when I saw and then I saw a soldier. I heard the explosion. Both my legs were broken before I hit the ground." Four fellow soldiers were killed. "They teach you that if you get wounded and there is still a threat, you have to fight back," Guyon continues. "But I was holding my own broken legs and looking at my rifle, thinking 'I can't do the job myself. I can't do anything.'"

His legs are still useless. The explosion fractured both femurs—the thick bones between the hip and the knee—and pierced his skin so deeply that his blood poured out. Both legs were crushed, but the right was slightly more. The main artery took such a blow that surgeons removed a vein from the left leg in order to keep the blood flowing. Doctors also performed a fasciotomy, slicing a long gash down the outside of his calf to relieve the swelling. Today, Guyon's legs are a collection of long red scars, each with a different

story to tell. A hidden titanium plate helps his right knee sit in place. On the left side, a thin rod does the same job. "Some days are hard on hard because I am not a very patient person," he says. "But I am happy to be alive. For those four guys who were killed, I have to prove to that bomber—and to myself—that I'm not going to let that affect me."

Guyon has a visitor in his room every afternoon.

Loewen has his goals. Turn the key in the ignition. Cut a steak with his right hand. But more than anything, he wants to keep his uniform.

Joel Digrand, a physiotherapist who makes house calls. She kneels beside his bed, gripping his swollen right knee as he bends his knee. It seems like a painless exercise, but it will make all the difference when doctors give him the green light to stand up. Twice Loewen is allowed to put weight on

the leg, then have to be strapped to support it. Digrand says, pulling gently on his foot.

IT IS A frigid January afternoon in downtown Toronto. Barneval and a friend are spending the weekend at his cousin's waterfront condo, lifting the afternoon before heading to the Air Canada Centre for tonight's Toronto Rock lacrosse game. The walk will be a good test for Barneval's new prosthetic leg, which arrived the other day. "It's all about returning to normal, and part of returning is normal in being able to walk," he says, slipping a handle of Corona. "I don't want everybody to feel sorry for me. I would prefer that people not even notice."

Unlike Loewen, Barneval is not having to stay in uniform. When his contract expires next year, he is pretty sure he will walk away. "I don't regret going into the army," he says. "They've done everything I've needed, since I got hurt. No regrets. No obstacles." Barneval will never put a medical bill linked to his injury. If he wants a special problem to play hockey (which he does), Veterans Affairs will cover the cost. And that one hurdle, he'll get a new one—no questions asked. "Losing my leg will never be worth it, but they don't know it," he says. "You get compensated."

Barneval is hesitant to discuss dollar figures. He has received one hefty cheque already, but the amount of money isn't something he wants to share. But he will say this: "It's a gift of life. You take a breath and you know that things are going to be fine. I'm not going to worry or worry about not being able to pay bills or having to sell my truck or living out of what I am going to live. And I won't have to worry about finding a job right away when I make \$50,000 a year."

The program is complex and the paperwork can be overwhelming, but Canadians who suffer serious wounds in the Kandahar theatre can expect to receive more than thousands of dollars—in cash—when they are sent home. The payouts begin with SSI, a government insurance firm that rates only so to soldiers. Everyone in uniform must purchase long-term disability coverage, which costs about a month. But they are also covered, free of charge, under SSI's Accidental Disbursement Insurance Plan. Restriction is swift, not negotiable and no questions asked.

Accidental death—five, for example—in March 2005. Loewen and the two women died to \$150,000. In 2006, the plan paid a combined \$1 million to seven soldiers who lost a body part or more in Afghanistan. Veterans Affairs offers an additional lump-sum disability award that can reach \$150,000



MIKE LOEWEN (top left) gives his thumbs-up during his Afghanistan tour. Back then, Loewen was a private. (top right) doctors were not sure where his mangled arm would be placed. Occupational therapist Jeff Brown (top right) measures his progress. The metal brace binds his elbow with the bone of a screw.

It's a mind-numbing calculation—the official guidelines are 400 pages—but the services hold down to find what your specific injury, and how deeply has it affected your quality of life. Until last April, the funds paid out monthly disability payments to worthy veterans, but that practice was scrapped when Stephen Harper introduced one-time awards as part of the New Veterans Charter. Some have criticized the change, complaining that Ottawa can now wish its hands of damaged people with a single cheque, that they're not entirely accurate. The lump sum scores for "pain and suffering," the income and interest payable against a soldier's earnings after a catastrophic injury. It doesn't compensate for lost earnings or day-to-day living expenses. Other financial disability rules are in place to deal with that. Most notably, if a soldier suffers a "permanent and serious disability" (a qualifying, for example) he is guaranteed a monthly pension that equals 75 per cent of his gross pay, no matter his rank. If a soldier is injured while on duty, he is already covered by SSI or Veterans Affairs, or both. The monthly pension is a completely optional benefit.

Michael Barneval and Mike Loewen will not receive 75 per cent pensions for the rest of their lives. It may seem unfair, but as he said earlier, injuries are neither men in charge of them. In fact, the new simplicity of SSI's rules will be a similar change to keep working, but healthy enough to hold a civilian job. Such is the message of the new Charter. It calls for the worst of the worst,



the man and woman too badly injured to move on. But for everyone else, the army goal is to get back to work, just not in the military. "The policy objectives are not simply about compensating people," says Ken Miller, national director of program policy at Veterans Affairs. "The policy objective is to return and retrain. It's a great statement of success if we can actually help them back to full and sufficient."

Miller, a 25-year barrister, says the old pension scheme was so flawed it was almost certain that it didn't do enough to help injured soldiers recover. Here's your monthly cheque. Good luck. The new program goes beyond that. As long as a medically discharged member is participating in a rehab program, the government will pay the equivalent of 75 per cent of his salary until he can compete. Ottawa will also cover tuition costs, up to \$20,000, to return people to new professions. And when they graduate, the government guarantees them priority employment. In the first two months of 2007, the funds have already been more than 20 times as much. The private sector has stepped up, too. As part of a new initiative called the Transition Assistance Program, dozens of companies—from IBM to the private sector—have stepped up, too. As part of a new initiative called the Transition Assistance Program, dozens of companies—from IBM to the private sector—have stepped up, too. As part of a new initiative called the Transition Assistance Program, dozens of companies—from IBM to the private sector—have stepped up, too.

But Ken is not sure. He knows that as more than a military doctor, there will always be someone who says it's not enough. How much, after all, is a decent salary? Or an asset? Or 75 per cent of your base? There is no simple answer. But so often says, soldiers are well aware of the risks before they ever sign on the dotted line. "When you join the military, you know what you're getting into," he says. "Everyone knows what we do."

Barneval understands that. He has no complaints about how the system has treated him, both physically and financially. As for what's next, he's not exactly sure. His next will remain on the military payroll for at least another year, as he has to make a decision. He does know one thing, however: "Every dollar that I get out of this, I would give back to have my leg back. That's for sure."

BY MONDAY AFTERNOON, Mike Loewen and Jeff Brown are back in bed, sitting inside the Edmonton Garrison Centre. He spends Wednesdays and Thursdays here,

[illegible]

"I find that too," Loewen adds. "I felt so guilty because I was home and I wasn't going through the same dangers that my buddies were. And then, when they got back home and everyone was back to work, I felt so angry because they could go back to their lives."

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FOUR DAYS BEFORE Christmas, Lawrence Gagon wheels himself through the front doors of what used to be Canada's premier military hospital in suburban Ottawa. Most of the former wards inside this brown brick building are now offices, occupied by the Canadian Forces Health Services Group, the military's ever growing medical bureaucracy.

joined the reserves when he was still and served the next two decades with the 2nd Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery. A few years ago, bonded with the private sector, the Montreal native signed a three-year contract to work full-time at Cernan headquarters. He was barely settled into his new post when he heard about CIMIC officers in the Canadian soldiers who interact with Afghan elders. He trained part-time for six months, then completed his three-year gig to sign a new, one-year deployment commitment. He made it through training and assessment. He landed in theatre on Aug 10.

By 8:00 a.m., Barrowell is sitting in the lobby of the rehab clinic, directly across from a gift shop that hasn't opened yet. Looking back in his chair, he cringes a little about buying himself one of the ugly shirts fishes on display in the window. He can be soft-spoken

This morning, like most mornings, Raymond is the youngest patient here. Everyone else appears to be in their 70s or less, the victims of a stroke or diabetes or the natural decay of old age. He comes with a brief case on the treadmill, then walks a few steps to the back of the room, where his physiotherapist, Kelly Sullivan, hands him a soccer ball. Holding



A mock act of seism sits in another corner of the room. Without his cue, Barnwell climbs up one side and down the other. The trapezoid is over. His job is not so hoarse.

In a few weeks, Baranowski's brother is scheduled to return from Kandahar. "TV got a whole lot better when everybody is not an Afghanistan guy," he says. "And when the guys get all the bad in Potomac, they'll use me as a warning." One of the guys who won't live on that has a Josh Kluze, a 23-year-old private who was killed two months before Baranowski lost his foot. "It was the same kind of thing," he says. "He wasn't the first in the order of marsh. Other guys had passed over the land mine already. This whole thing has made me a definite believe that when it's your turn, it's your turn, and when it's not your time, it's not your time. It won't be an apocalyptic scenario, and he's dead."

"You don't really think about getting upward—at least I never did," he says. "It's the whole microscope, you're seeing and not

available." It wasn't until he came home last year that he learned about NATO's new policy, the one that prohibits wounded soldiers from finishing their careers. "I don't see myself as a civilian," he says. "I see the mission behind the rule, but the way I look at it, I can do something that will free up another soldier to be able to go overseas. It's not a money issue. It has nothing to do with money. It's just the fact that I still want to serve."



left's ascent is a months-long process to rebuild the party

AS PROMISED, BARNHALL rode a train from Windsor to Petrowska so he could

The halls of the battalion are empty. Most of the soldiers, fresh from their Afghanistan tour, are enjoying some well-deserved rest. The few who are around smile at Barney and pat him on the back, telling him how good he looks and how they should all go for a



It's easy to believe him: Four months ago, Barrowell lost his right foot. Today, he is walking around with a limp that is barely noticeable. "I'm sure there are people who would think the world is out to get them and say, 'Save that. My life's over,'" he says. "But I don't want to live like that. I care with it. It didn't happen, but it has, and being better is not going to help anybody. It's not going to help me." ■



HARPER during a television interview. In more than a year in power he's coped nicely with the unpredictability of minority government

THE THAWING OF STEPHEN HARPER

The cold, calculating leader's new intuitive side is giving the Tories a pre-election makeover

BY JOHN GEDDES • There are two ways to think about election timing. One has to do mostly with polling numbers, the other mostly with political instincts. For years Stephen Harper looked like a man of icy calculation, very much the sort who would go with the numbers. If that were still the case, the chances of the Prime Minister triggering an election this spring, even with his lead in the polls and his recent dominance of the federal agenda, would have to be reckoned as no better than 50/50.

But a different view of Harper is coming into focus, one that casts him as less methodical, more intuitive. This new go-for-broke Harper sharply reverses tack on the environment or destiny takes a notion to redefine the Québec as a nation within Canada. He can look aloof, even machinistic, as the House of Commons. Only minutes before tabling that Québec nation motion last fall, for instance, he jokingly raised a fist, declaring the junior high "loose" sign at a Liberal MP opponent but "won't" give. That motion passed, and his Québec agenda advanced. And it's this revised Harper who might prove to be all at the helm for his life's big right, even if the pollsters didn't see it that way.

Both sides must always have been there.

It's just that the calculating strategist was so much more evident when Harper was creating the new Conservative party, steering it to the electoral centre, and finally despatching and executing his dislodge 2006 campaign. For most of that work, he had plenty of time to plot behind the scenes. But in the 14 months he's been in power, he's coped nicely with the fluid unpredictability of minority government, and shown a mastery of the House. He looks unlikely to be unseated soon into losing his government fall before he sees his coveted majority within reach. Polls say guess he's not there yet, particularly not in all important Ontario. To succeed, he'll have to keep controlling the issues that favour the Liberal brand, and spotlight the few files he's relying on, his key strategies say, to complete

the re-casting of the Tories as a party trusted enough to win majorities.

IT'S A TALL ORDER, but he's on a roll. As recently as the closing weeks of 2006, the Liberals enjoyed a lead in the polls, as if electing Stephen Dean their new leader. But in the first few months of this year, Harper aggressively maneuvered his dominance. He targeted former rising star Russ Ambrose in environmental criticism, replacing her with partisan acquirer John Baird, and within weeks the Liberals' coveted polling advantage on green issues vanished. A Tory TV ad blitz seemed to define Dean as a man who can't set priorities—making viewers to agree that Harper can't be trusted to work. Dean took the frontal assault as a gut punch in a very drop. "They would not do that," he said last week, "if they were not thinking about an election."

Sure, they're thinking about it. But that's a far cry from orchestrating their own minority's downfall. Some core Tory strategists privately predict it won't happen this spring, although all say they're ready to hit the buttons if it does. The fact is, any one of the Lib-

would feel trapped to juggle Dean against their own electoral interests. "In that case, he risks looking like he's going for self-interest purposes," says Bricker. "And he's too smart a strategist to let that escape his thinking." The risk of alienating election weary voters would only be worth it if the numbers trend up powerfully in the Conservatives' favour. So far, they don't. Ipsos Reid's latest survey, conducted Feb. 23 and March 1, gave the Tories 36 per cent and the Liberals 32 per cent. To win a majority, either party would



TO SUCCEED, HE NEEDS TO NEUTRALIZE ISSUES THAT FAVOUR LIBERALS



MEETING with Bill Gates on AIDS, Fisheries (above). Playing off ingrained perceptions

eral, Bloc Québecois or NDP Premier Harper in power by voting with his Tories in the House. And since none of the opposition parties is faring very well in the polls, the chances of a given day's alliance would be no stronger. "There's no scenario as yet that suits the opposition parties," says Ipsos Reid pollster Darrell Bricker, "because that's not what the government can be defined in an election." That means Harper would have to table a bill so objectionable to the opposition they

would feel trapped to juggle Dean against their own electoral interests. "In that case, he risks looking like he's going for self-interest purposes," says Bricker. "And he's too smart a strategist to let that escape his thinking." The risk of alienating election weary voters would only be worth it if the numbers trend up powerfully in the Conservatives' favour. So far, they don't. Ipsos Reid's latest survey, conducted Feb. 23 and March 1, gave the Tories 36 per cent and the Liberals 32 per cent. To win a majority, either party would

need broad resilience matters most in Ontario. The province accounts for 306 of the 308 seats in the House. The Tories hold 40 of them now, to the Liberals' 54. To assemble a national majority, Harper would likely need to retain 60 or more MPs from Ontario. And over this month, when he had all the raw numbers, a leading analyst of the region's mood wasn't over-enthusiastic. According to the Lester B. Pearson Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy, at Wilfrid Laurier University, the most recent James Reid and Desrochers poll taken together translated into a 143-seat majority for Harper, well up from his current 125 seats, but still 11 shy of the magic number needed to control the House. In battleground Ontario, the Lester Institute's projection shows the Tories climbing, on the strength of these recent polls, to 50 seats if an election were held immediately.

Berry Kay, the political science professor behind the institute's closely watched forecasts, says the Tories gained those 30 seats by leapfrogging two per cent ahead of the Liberals in Ontario in recent polls, up from five per cent behind them in last year's elections. However, Kay adds, the Conservatives would have to vote to fully to govern ahead of the Liberals in Ontario for Harper to collect the 20 or more new seats in the province that he would probably need to secure House majority. That remains a big challenge, but the Tories appear to have few other regional options to pursue. They already dominate the West, there are few seats up for grabs in the Atlantic provinces, and Quebec looks even less likely than Ontario to move definitively in their direction. In fact, recent polls suggest Dean's Liberals could pick up trifling in his home province at the Bloc Québécois's expense, while the Tories are merely holding their own.

IF ONTARIO is the target, the next chance the Conservatives have to make inroads there will come with the budget. Finance Minister John Baird talks on March 18. It's being designed to work on two levels, each playing off deeply ingrained public perceptions of the task (see page 18). First, the advantage of the traditional Tory brand enough to elicit agreement by giving personal cases. Second, out on the historic Liberal association with national unity, especially when it comes to federalism, particularly in Québec. With Ottawa's huge surpluses, crafting a tax-cutting package generous enough to



BUDGET MONEY FOR THE PROVINCES WILL BE SPUN AS A PLAY FOR NATIONAL UNITY

catch the attention of middle class voters, notably in Ontario's populous suburbs, should be simple enough. Tarrance's budget was a pitch for national unity, or perhaps federal-provincial harmony, will be trickier. First, Flaherty must offer the provinces enough cash to calm to have sided the so-called fiscal antibodies between them and Ottawa. Then, a week later, Quebec Premier Jean Charest must be re-elected, marginalizing the separatist Parti Québécois, while making properly guarded noises about all the new money Flaherty sent Quebec's way. "People like a united country," says John Reid, a former B.C. MP and a top Tory campaign organizer. "If the answers between the federal government and the provinces improves, if Charest does well, it looks good on Harper."

But the budget addresses only two of Harper's top-five priorities: Indian and Northern Affairs Minister Jim Prentice, who functions as the Prime Minister's chief operating officer in his role as a powerful cabinet committee chairman, led it three times to an interview with Maclean's on cabinet changes, including Canada's global image and armed forces in Canada, and promoting the conservative without compromising the economy.

On all these issues, Prentice argues that opposition parties, particularly the Liberals, are "getting out of step not only with our agenda, but with the agenda of Canadians. And with House votes coming up soon on the budget and a new global warming package, I'm predicting the opposition leaders will find the mistakes on handling a coordinating choice between voting for government or policies they have long opposed and making

suggesting an election. "It's going to be a very intense month," he said. "At the end of the day, there will be some difficult decisions in front of the parties at Parliament." Like all Harper's ministers and most cabinet members, he says the government wants to keep governing but is ready, if it has to, to face a battle-boss test. The message that they must be prime to hit the highways is being hammered home at a major Conservative boot camp for candidates and campaigners in Toronto this week.

Discipline will be a dominant theme at the training sessions. It's Harper's hallmark, and his trained adherents view maintaining it as essential. If their brand of hard-bolting efforts are to stay on track. Last fall, when the Liberals looked stronger on the strength of their solid open leadership race, Harper's perch on tight money control often made his camp looked tilted by comparison. But since this year's Tory rebirth, his discipline has made his campaign credibility. Inspired by polls that put them top again, the Liberals have made no trouble debunking the lion's tale. Does a corporate chief executive lead his vice-presidents can around saying all sorts of different things? says Reynolds. Prentice also describes it as a matter of sound management. "The business of government is complex, and trans-

mitting clear messages about what the government is working to do is also complex," he says. "You need to have some discipline."

HARPER HAS reason to continue to fear any sign. "They remark that might make him, or his party, look too hard-right. He is not fully trusted last month, as per cent of respondents in an Ipsos-Reid poll of Harper was the best of the party leaders to be prime minister, for about 25 per cent who those Ottawans. Harper also had on other key questions about leadership, including being seen as the leader who more Canadians thought shared their values. Not on questions about his transparency, he still shorted. Asked which leader had a hidden agenda, 44 per cent said Harper, compared to 34 per cent who picked Dineen. And Harper was the hands down choice when respondents were asked which leader was "corrupted."



HARPER had on cash to smooth Baird's climate-change plan

and "will say anything to get elected." Fighting undercurrents of mistrust is an old struggle for Harper. Paul Martin's Liberals exploited them to deny him victory in the stretch run of the 2004 election. Harper's warning response in 2006 was to run a campaign based on a thirdly opinion of honesty and transparency, publicly creating a series of "confidence-building" sessions with the public. It's the way he has often governed, too. His administration pays a premium on volume, passing cabinet motions to keep the flow of routine policy announcements. One vet was Tory staff, who joined Harper's government after years of long experience at the provincial level, described the demand to get

stuff done as "urgent and intense." The sense to buy any lingering public issues under months of available, or at least audacious, policy and process. "Previously, we suffered because we had no story to tell," says the aide. "But, now we've created an on-the-spot work that we're confident we can go out there and show we haven't done anything else."

It's the opposite of the emphasis Martin put on big-brothering, like a multi-billion dollar deal on health care or a sweeping pact for First Nations. Even when Harper is driving toward a major announcement, he dil-



THE TORIES WILL MAKE MUCH OF THE LIBERALS' REFUSAL TO VOTE FOR SECURITY MEASURES

gently lays a foundation of credibility, block by block. Leadership of Baird's climate change package, for instance, Harper hit the road this month for series of warm-up events: mental arena conferences with provinces, from federal funding to expand Ontario's subway and help Ontario's phase-out of wind power plants, to meet press with Alberta to open head a long-awaited plan to explore carbon dioxide by pumping it underground, to all C. plan to set up hydrogen fueling stations between Vancouver and Whistler for clean-burning fuel-cell vehicles. And every good news is a bad news opportunity for Harper, not so much for burning the Conservative Party of Canada to the ground. As for promoting what he calls issues on calling—and the capital letters can be heard when he speaks the words—Canada's New Government.

His reluctance to call his regime, says Harper's Conservative Conservative, is revealing. Although Tories are loath to admit that their own party name lacks soundness, their leader's preferred label lacks little doubt. But the Liberal brand carries more positive connotations for many Canadians. Conservative strategies are trying to counter that advantage by pushing issues that play to Liberal strengths to the margins. Last year, conventional wisdom held that the next election would be fought over either environmental policy or the future of Canada's mission in Afghanistan. On both those issues, the Liberals engaged the upper hand. On the Kyoto

Protocol, Harper had been an outright global warming skeptic, increasingly out of step with public opinion. On Afghanistan, his hawkish "I don't cut and run" stance linked him with President George W. Bush in the crowd, giving a popular view of Liberals as the friends of Canada's war-torn traditions of peace-keeping and good world abroad.

What a difference a few months make. Making an abrupt about-face on climate change, Harper acknowledged frankly that his government needed to change ways to satisfy Canadians' desire for action to cut greenhouse gas emissions. Dropping last year's hard-rightist about lighting the Taliban, the government's messaging shifted to emphasize defusing preoccupation and boosting the Afghan cause and budget. Now, Tory strategists use the Kandahar election as a battle together with public support for a better funded military, and a tougher line on anti-terror-

ism? If Harper continues to have his way, only rivals the Conservatives—or perhaps Canada's New Government—can reasonably hope to dominate. Lower votes are an inevitable by-product of that. Tories also see low order as a win for them, making much of the Liberals' refusal to vote for "Tory and create bills in the House. That doesn't make it wrapped up with anti-terror measures, again with emphasis how it wouldn't back the Tories in a vote to extend emergency powers to hold a terrorism suspects without charges or compel testimony in investigative hearings. Intriguingly, Conservatives use public safety themes playing well with a category of voters they have had trouble courting women. "Marines, young women, want safe streets and communities for their families," says party strategist Tim Powers. "That has very specific appeal for female voters."

Finding a way to win over not only women, but also big city and immigrant voters, are core Harper aims. His ambition to see his Conservatives replace the Liberals as Canada's natural majority party depends on it.

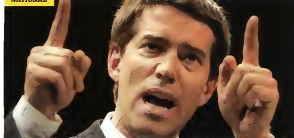


SHIFTING EMPHASIS: Harper's new emphasis on Afghanistan is an aid and reconstruction

reverses—linkages that play to Harper's strengths and don't weaken. As for climate change, they predict it will soon slip into the background, the way another prime minister's war, defunding public health care, and the "Government of the table, with care is all of the table." Reynolds says. "People can see there are hard issues to deal with, and the government is doing the best it can."

If those Liberal-friendly lies have been normalized, what's left to fight an election

But those are long-term objectives, and most voters governments need to be seen lived. One way or another, Harper's aim is to slip before every poll looks right for him, before every issue judged by his way. For now, though, he's defining his own road, declaring the terms of the race, and dominating the debate. If the supporters are right and a spring election isn't in the cards, the next question is whether even a politician with Harper's operational discipline and strategic focus can withstand the pressure of a new fall. ■



BOISCLAIR, accused by a rival of playing up his homosexuality to gain sympathy from voters, called Charest "an abnormal federalist."

GOOFS ON THE TRAIL

Quebec's campaign has been an embarrassing, nasty parade of gaffes

BY RICHARD AGRIN • There is no shortage of heady topics to debate in the run-up to Quebec's March 14 election—the province's conscience won, cultural minorities, renewed federalism, the environment. Issues, half-way into the campaign, increasingly dogmatic voters have been invited to a vaudeville show that has spilled down into a verbal exercise in political poison, a campaign that has alternated between jaw-pain word and outright assault—and has ended up embarrassing or offending many.

On the funny side of the street: Marine Décarie, the last Quebecer to drive for Marie Dumont's Action démocratique du Québec party in the province, took off for a premeditated Florida vacation with her family a few days after the vote was dropped. The left-wing Quebec subcommittee of a team of two co-candidates in Charlebourg—an apparent violation of election laws, but not a major issue since they're not expected to win. Raf Crémieux, meanwhile, has dropped out of the PQ list. "Public consultation" is a misnomer. The Liberal candidate in the Outremont who said healthy people don't really need a family doctor, so there's no shortage. ADQ candidate Eric Duroien told reporters he does not have a criminal record. Oooh! Turns out the former substance abuser, now clean, does have one. Parti Québécois leader Jean Charest was caught off guard when a Marling headline in the *Le Presse* newspaper revealed that Robin Hughes—

only two-linguist PQ candidate—wrote a book a few years ago assuring the massacre in Rwanda was not a genocide. And Pierre Paré, a Liberal heavyweight candidate and a personal foe of Jean Charest, told the Liberals' record in health care is not as good as they pretend.

These candidates survived embarrassing their leaders, or what ADQ candidate Jean-François Martel called the "insider-by-insider" that happens freedom of speech. "But who, Pierre didn't. He was quoted after suggesting on an Internet radio show that Boisclair plays up his homosexuality in order to gain sympathy from voters. Another ADQ candidate, Christian Raymond, got the book after urging Quebec women to have more babies, to make off being stamped by more fertile immigrants. And though he's not running, Louis Champagne, the Saguenay radio jock, became very much part of the campaign when he said the PQ looks like "un club de lapins"—a faggot club. He was yanked off the air, only to be reinstated the next week. A station manager says his morning program rules in half of the station's revenues.

In being Quebec, booby traps and pitfalls from the last referendum litter the campaign trail every time there's a provincial vote, touching off exchange that bordered on the

survival last week. Liberal Premier Jean Charest told reporters Quebec is "not indivisible." He later repeated the same thing while explaining he meant the opposite—while brooding about not wanting to revive "the black hole" of another referendum debate. Boisclair called Charest "an abnormal federalist," and Dumont concluded Charest is not fit to "defend Quebec's integrity." Boisclair said the fumes "no trouble, no turbulence" following a "yes" vote in a future referendum. Nobody laughed. Later, pundits speculated that Charest's first post was for a first time put—a scheme to shake up a national loss of Dumont's ADQ.

Heading into this week's debate, Charest was still enjoying a thin lead in the province's first three-way race in a long time. Dumont's massive rise in the polls, coupled with the fact that another 12 per cent of voters support foreign parties, reflect the fact that a new majority of voters are looking for an alternative to the PQ or Liberals choice that has led Quebec politics since the mid-1980s.

All three leaders know full well that they will be history in a matter of months if they don't win this very, very well on March 14. With Tuesday's critical leaders' debate, and the federal budget next week, things may well fall into focus. Now that Marine Décarie is back from her Florida vacation, the end campaign can start in earnest. ■



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"We have not thought through how we should manage our largest source of population growth. It's a charged atmosphere, so creating a safe context for discussing the issues without people assuming a hidden agenda is the challenge."—Conference Board vice-president Michael Bloom on the absence of policy-making. He spoke in light of this week's census results showing Canada relies on immigration more than ever for population growth.

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5-star rating for Front and Side Impacts from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA). And with a "5 Star Rating" for Front and Side Impacts from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA), there's peace of mind.

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Honda trucks: Solid on safety, solid on fuel efficiency. All Honda trucks offer some of the highest levels of standard safety features. They all have 5-Star Front and Side Impact ratings from the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA). And all Honda trucks are powered with exceptionally fuel-efficient VTEC or i VTEC engines. All you have to do is choose the best one for you.

Vehicle	Standard Safety Features (on all models)	Fuel Efficiency*
Pilot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4-wheel Anti-lock Braking System (ABS) with Electronic Brake-By-Wire (EBW) and Brake Assist 4-wheel steering with 18 in. gas pedal-side Sway Control Power Door Locks - Driver - (PDL) Vehicle Stability Assist (VSA) with Traction Control VSA Pressure Modulator (VSA-M) 	automatic City 19.3 / Hwy 25.9
CRAV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4-wheel Braking System (ABS) with Electronic Brake-By-Wire (EBW) Electronic Control Blade System (ECBS) - Traction Control 4-wheel steering with 18 in. gas pedal-side Sway Control Power Door Locks - Driver - (PDL) Vehicle Stability Assist (VSA) with Traction Control VSA Pressure Modulator (VSA-M) 	2WD City 18.2 / Hwy 23.1 4WD City 16.7 / Hwy 21.8
Element	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4-wheel Anti-lock Braking System (ABS) with Electronic Brake-By-Wire (EBW) and Brake Assist Electronic Control Blade System (ECBS) - Traction Control Power Door Locks - Driver - (PDL) Vehicle Stability Assist (VSA) with Traction Control VSA Pressure Modulator (VSA-M) 	auto City 18.0 / Hwy 21.1
Codyway	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4-wheel Anti-lock Braking System (ABS) with Electronic Brake-By-Wire (EBW) and Brake Assist Electronic Control Blade System (ECBS) - Traction Control Power Door Locks - Driver - (PDL) Vehicle Stability Assist (VSA) with Traction Control VSA Pressure Modulator (VSA-M) 	manual City 18.0 / Hwy 21.1
Odyssey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4-wheel Anti-lock Braking System (ABS) with Electronic Brake-By-Wire (EBW) and Brake Assist Electronic Control Blade System (ECBS) - Traction Control Power Door Locks - Driver - (PDL) Vehicle Stability Assist (VSA) with Traction Control VSA Pressure Modulator (VSA-M) 	automatic City 18.0 / Hwy 21.1
Ridgeline	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4-wheel Anti-lock Braking System (ABS) with Electronic Brake-By-Wire (EBW) and Brake Assist Electronic Control Blade System (ECBS) - Traction Control Power Door Locks - Driver - (PDL) Vehicle Stability Assist (VSA) with Traction Control VSA Pressure Modulator (VSA-M) 	automatic City 18.0 / Hwy 21.1



Resumé being ignored? Try a name change.

BY MARTIN PATRICHIO • Karel El Badi wanted to work for Quebec's agricultural cooperative as badly that he sent in his resume 20 times, in no small part because of the "open" in "open" - why he was named downcast led him to 11,000 francs Quebec's "open" in a right hand, and became yet another example of Quebec's battle over "reasonable accommodation" of immigrants.

El Badi considers himself a Quebecer as the next pay—he's even a PQ candidate in the coming provincial election. Nevertheless, the trained accountant got nowhere with the Montreal-based association, despite two degrees and nearly 20 years experience. So on his 20th application, he changed his name to "Marc Tremblay" and completed the list about his family in French. Badi didn't get a call in a matter of days, during which the former accountant lost his job. The co-op blamed a clerical error. The tribunal called it discrimination, and ordered the co-op to pay the province's largest employer—just \$1,000 in "social damages" and lost wages.

"We can't say that Quebec society is racist," says the Moroccan-born El Badi. The problem, he says, lies with "the decision in race agreement positions in the public sector, which is a matter of white faces, and when, unfortunately, there are individuals with certain names."

El Badi announced his victory on the heels of another troubling decision, this one from Montreal's police union board, that two of its officers diagnosed themselves by pulling their guns on two black men in the sweltering streets of Dufferin and Orleans. The officers mistook them for thieves, when in fact they were helping clean out a garage. When one of the men complained that this was a police issue, officer Isabelle Nadeau replied, "If you don't have... why don't you go back to your country?"

As it happens, the 1,200-member Montreal police force will soon undergo a new training during which they will learn the difference between "racial profiling" and "criminal profiling." The program will be paid for in part by a Canadian Heritage grant. ■

Feds pressed for cancer vaccine cash

BY DAVID L. HARRIS • All Dr. Gail Beck wants is \$300 million. Beck is the president of the Federation of Medical Women of Canada, a lobby group pushing the federal government to fund a new vaccine for women. Called Gardasil, the inoculation helps prevent cervical cancer and genital warts caused by the human papilloma virus, or HPV. Gardasil, however, costs roughly \$400 for three shots over six months, and none of the provinces or territories pay for it at the moment. Beck wants Ottawa to come up with the hefty cash infusion in its March 10 budget, for a national program to make Gardasil readily accessible. "It'll be money well spent," Beck argues, calling Gardasil "the biggest health breakthrough for women in many years."

HPV is usually transmitted through skin-to-skin contact. It can cause cancers in both males and females, but only very rarely in males. Merck & Co., the vaccine's manufacturer, says an average of one Canadian woman dies of cervical cancer every day. About three quarters of sexually active people will contract one of several different HPV infections over their lifetimes, yet only a small fraction become ill. Health Canada last year approved Gardasil for females between the ages of 16 and 26. Tests in males are underway.

Last October during pre-budget hearings, Beck called for the \$300-million injection before the Commons standing committee on finance. "The committee is made up of a lot of Conservatives," Beck says. "It was clear that



SEVERALLY ACTIVE CHANCES ARE YOU HAVE HPV.

this recommendation resonated with them." As Canadians await news on funding, the U.S. experience may well offer guidance. In Texas and New Mexico, attempts to introduce laws to make the vaccine mandatory for sixth-grade girls led to conservative groups to claim mandatory vaccination would mean "some parents said we would waive their right to choose. The outcry forced Mexico to stop lobbying state legislatures in Canada, with \$100 million at stake, things may only be heating up. ■

Mystery bee plague vexes farmers

BY MICHAEL DOBBER • Try the poorest of bees, whose ability of the least rely on the flightless honeybee. In southern Alberta, hybrid canola seed producers this June will start as many as 60,000 beehives to pollinate their crops, crowning brilliant yellow fields with blossoms of black, yellow, and red. The black honeybee and honeybee is an overwintered and invasive, valued in Canada at \$1 billion—much of it in Alberta, which boasts some 275,000 bee colonies, more than any other province. Hybrid canola seed production alone is worth as much as \$200 million, says an estimate from the U.S., the value of crops pollinated by bees is as high as \$15 billion. And a third of what we eat grows thanks to bees—from California almonds to Pennsylvania apples.



HONEYBEE business is worth a billion.

So intertwined is farming with beekeeping that the two industries are now vulnerable to the same forces—diseases, colony collapse disorder, a mysterious ailment that's destroyed over 60 per cent of some U.S. commercial beekeepers' colonies and leaves little benefit of bees. "All that's left is empty hives with frames and honeycombs," says Kevin Bloom, of the Alberta Beekeepers Association, in Lethbridge, Alberta, where the industry swells \$300 million, are almost tracking the disease as it moves west through the U.S., and fear it could arrive in Canada within a couple of years. What then? "We hope and pray it's not as bad as what we've heard in the States," says Alberta beekeeper Jerry Postma. If the disorder becomes entrenched—and is as bad as presumed—consumers may find they're paying higher produce prices.

Canola seed producers are also watching the disorder's commercial march. "The impact to the hybrid seed industry could be catastrophic," says George Langer, vice president of CropScience in Lethbridge, Alta., who argues federal and provincial governments should "proceed immediately" by funding research. Wheat, meanwhile, warns the industry may be heading for a price crash by June. "There could come a point when it will be assured they're going to lose access to honeybees," he says. "If they're not around, they will leave their businesses elsewhere." ■

GETTING IT RIGHT

What has the U.S. really learned from the Iraq intelligence fiasco?

BY LISA CY SANCHEZ Given how spectacularly wrong U.S. intelligence estimates turned out to be about Saddam's weapons of mass destruction, the world wants to know what their lessons have been learned and U.S. claims about Iraq can be trusted.

A 2005 report by a bipartisan bicameral commission appointed by President George W. Bush blamed the "major intelligence failure" regarding Iraq in large part on analysts

than on the original intelligence estimates. The brief's attention-grabbing headlines and disclaimer of suspicion left an impression that there were many corroborating points where in fact there were very few sources and it didn't help that administration officials like Vice President Dick Cheney overrode what the analysts said, claiming Iraq had "reconstituted" its nuclear program.

The episode, at least, says John McLaughlin, a top Iraq analyst who was a White House spokesman, "The CIA was not kicked around Iraq," the CIA could walk with claims criticizing its own work and figuring out where analysts might have gone wrong," says John McLaughlin,

community is now expected to run its own decisions just outside experts.

"Many lessons have been incorporated from the Iraq period in the way intelligence is processed, collected and analyzed," says McLaughlin, who was acting director of the CIA in the summer of 2004. "There is a great deal of talk to tell us the uncertainties—the things that are not known, and to caveat judgments. There is an effort made to have national intelligence estimates issued by a broader group of people and to get different views into the process."

Although the various inquiries found no evidence of political pressure on analysts, some analysts became forward and shared their views. The various inquiries found no evidence of political pressure on analysts, some analysts became forward and shared their views. The various inquiries found no evidence of political pressure on analysts, some analysts became forward and shared their views.

estimates less could produce a nuclear weapon by early to mid next decade," Mike McConnell, the new director of national intelligence, told the Senate Armed Services Committee on Feb. 27. But in keeping with the new caveat of risk, he hedged that "our information is uncertain," "uncertain" and "uncertain." "There is a real risk of a nuclear weapon," McConnell said. "The risk is not a risk," says McConnell. "Analysts do not have a direct intelligence that Iraq is developing a nuclear weapon. Everyone believes it's plausible, but no one can prove it."

The case is based on a string of activities dating back to the 1960s, when Iraq began to violate its commitments under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. It was an active participant in various nuclear tests, and such nuclear tests, which argued all along that there was no proof Saddam was building a nuclear weapon.

But the chairman of the CIA is not the only player. The Pentagon has spent a long time on the Iraq issue, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense, led by some of

called for the "elimination" of Israel, hardly anyone else. Nonetheless, the 2005 National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq, which was leaked to the Washington Post, and Iraq's public explanation that it built the program in secret over 15 years because it feared attack by the U.S. or Israel of the work was exposed, is plausible but unconvincing. The estimate also included some alternative theories. For some of Iraq's nuclear activities (the work in contrast to Iraq's program, which did not give serious consideration to the possibility that Saddam might not have WMDs).

As in the Iraq case, some Iranian officials are making huge claims in their homeland have a strong push to advance American intelligence about the nuclear program. This time, though, the CIA's basic information is not coming from informants, but from the IAEA, which argued all along that there was no proof Saddam was building a nuclear weapon.

But the chairman of the CIA is not the only player. The Pentagon has spent a long time on the Iraq issue, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense, led by some of

often misfactured explosives called EFPs, or explosively formed penetrators, which they said were being smuggled into Iraq with the blessing of the "high levels of the Iranian government." They said the Quds force, an Iranian special forces unit that specializes in intelligence activities abroad, was bringing in the weapons. And, White House spokesman Tony Snow, "The CIA is not an official arm of the Iranian government," and, as such, the government bears responsibility and accountability for its actions."

But the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Peter Pace, quickly made clear there was no evidence implicating the Iranian government. "It is clear that materials from Iran are involved," Pace told reporters. "But I would not say, based on what I know, that the Iranian government clearly knows, or is complicit," Bush backed Pace.

Meanwhile, however, he said he saw how Iraq had been the nuclear program. The Feb. 15, a raid by American and Iraqi forces in the southern city of Hilla discovered a file folder containing plans for mobile bombs, including infrared sensors and electronic triggering devices the military had only been previously used by the Iranian splintered Hezbollah in Lebanon. Then, on Feb. 25, U.S. forces found a cache of weapons north of Baghdad that included 5-mm cop- per pellets—enough to make 110 EFPs.

Some of the weapons had serial numbers that could be traced back to Iran. But Maj. Gen. Benjamin Mosen told reporters on March 9, "I can't tell you for sure that these materials came from Iran, and I certainly don't have any information about the involvement of any Iranian government officials, past or present." Likewise, when senators asked McConnell about an Iranian government leak at a Feb. 27 hearing, he said, "We don't have evidence that there is or there isn't. My assessment would be that there could be answers—but there isn't a direct link that we can point to."

McLaughlin, the former CIA acting head, who now teaches at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, says he was contacted in the administration's days. "They started making strong statements on the Iraq issue," he says. "Whoever did the briefing in Baghdad apparently were further than people in Washington who would be the first to go on assessing the activities to top levels of government."

There is reason for concern. Most U.S. casualties are caused by Sunni forces, the militias of (Iraqi) Iraqis and their Iranian allies (Iran has a long history of supporting Shia forces in Iraq). As well, some of the weapons that have been found have had English words



GIVEN PAST PROBLEMS, THE WHITE HOUSE IS BEING QUITE CAUTIOUS ABOUT IRAQ

who took fragmentary and poorly sourced information about the country, combined with their own pre-existing assumptions, and produced bold claims whose shaky foundations were concealed to policy-makers. In part of many examples, the 2003 National Intelligence Estimate on Iraq—which represents the official consensus of all U.S. intelligence services—said Saddam was developing biological weapons in mobile labs. Undermined was the fact that the laboratory came from one source—an informant who passed information on to German intelligence but had never been interviewed by the CIA, and was "already known to be a fabrication."

McLaughlin also said that "analysis must be objective and independent of political considerations." He established a personal responsibility for "analysis integrity and standards," setting standards, evaluating intelligence reports, and supervising an ombudsman to whom analysts can complain about problems. In addition, the intelligence

build to the intelligence positions under my own guidance. "Now it's understood that it was all a horrible mistake and there was political influence," he told McConnell. "Now analysts are willing to push back and the politicians aren't ready to push down. The situation is different now."

It may be different, but it's not great. Bush's commission also looked at intelligence in Iran and North Korea, and concluded that the Iraq intelligence problems were not unique. "Across the board, the intelligence community knows relatively little about the nuclear programs of many of the world's most dangerous states," the report said.

The official U.S. intelligence consensus today is that Iraq is developing nuclear. "We



SOME ANALYSTS SAY THEY WERE PRESSURED ON IRAQ

There are two unanswered questions about Iraq's defense with the nuclear proliferation network directly run by the father of the Palestinian suicide bombings, AQ Khan, who has advanced nuclear weapons to Iraq. McConnell, Iran has been openly pursuing uranium enrichment, claiming it is building a civilian energy program. The independent Washington-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which reports annually to the UN General Assembly, has issued on Iran its report to enrichment activities, but Iran has refused. The UN Security Council imposed firm and sanctions on Iran in December, and is now considering tougher measures.

The ayatollahs who oppress their own people had support the terrorist organization Hezbollah, a president who has the same people that belonged to the Office of Special Affairs, a body that produced false intelligence about Saddam. Strategies are a reply of pro-Iraq statements in the Bush administration's major assumption that Iraq is setting its ambitions in Iraq with precision-made devices to explosives designed to test through U.S. attacks. The military says it is trying to call international attention to an increase in the use of the highly lethal devices in the hope of deterring that use. But critics fear the White House is looking for a pretext for war.

In the face of wide-ranging skepticism about its claims, the administration turned down what had started out as aggressive rhetoric. On Feb. 11 in Baghdad, military briefers displayed various weapons and pro-

ings, setting off disputes about their authenticity. The assassination agent Iran are "an attempt to denigrate the Iranian and prepare the ground for a later military action against Iran," says *Constrains*. "That a political spin being done by President and vice-president, not by the intelligence community. We have to realize the information briefing in Baghdad was only given by military personnel, and the CIA was not a part of it."

Such skepticism has others worried that a very real threat is not being taken seriously enough. Georgetown Senator Jay Byrd, who is a strong supporter of the Iran war, has said the military of the government, the intelligence on Iran was "unexamined," and a "danger point" that could lead to a "nuclear stance" of people in the administration to draw the correct conclusions.

The new emphasis on the potential frailty of intelligence is cold comfort to those who must make decisions. "We still don't have the intelligence community overall to give us, at policy makers, the information that we need to make good decisions in March Korea, Iran and other places," complained Sen. Hollibaugh, the senior Republican on the House intelligence committee, on Mar. 4.

And just because the birds were wrong about Iraq, doesn't mean they are wrong now. There have been many cases of underestimating a threat. After the Iran Gulf War, weapons inspectors discovered that Saddam Hussein's nuclear program was further along than anyone had suspected—critical of a decade away from a bomb, he might have had it by late 1993, had the program not been derailed by the war. And in September 1981, the main Iraqi, the father of American intelligence, predicted that the Soviet Union would not use offensive weapons in Cuba. A month later, satellite photos showed they were already there. Secret later wrote, "In intelligence, is in other calls, estimate is what you do when you don't know."

It does matter whether we know precisely how dense Iran is to a bomb. "Once you get to (nuclear) making and making fuel, the ability to turn it into a bomb to launch bombs is enormous," says Henry Solobov, a former deputy for anti-proliferation policy from 1989 to 1991 in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, who now heads the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center. It's not necessarily a reason to go to war, he says, but it's reason enough to do something.

After all, as war after another spectacular intelligence failure, the attacks of 9/11, that saw the intelligence community critically "misconducting the fight" about al-Qaeda. "On Iran, you've got a lot of dots," says former spy-master Michael Leigh. "The question is, should you be connecting them?" ■

EGYPT'S FATWA FOR 'RE-HYMENIZATION'

Endorsing an operation to help Muslim women regain sexual innocence

BY DAFNA TREIBERG • Telling one's virginity hasn't been the same in the past. Under modern medicine, that has not changed. Egypt's grand mufti, the country's official Islamic spokesman, endorsed what he called the "re-hymenization fatwa"—an edict that effectively allows Muslim women to regain sexual innocence through surgery that restores the hymen. Appearing on national television, the mufti said that women who opt for the procedure do not sin. "If God wants us to know everything about each other, he would have given us the ability to read each other's minds," he said. Other supporters of the fatwa have made some highly enlightened statements. One scholar at Cairo's esteemed Al-Azhar University told an Egyptian newspaper, "Any man who occupies himself with his prospective wife's hymen should first provide a proof that he himself is a virgin."

But it is not so strongly feminist here as progressive as it appears. The edict could be seen as silently maintaining a system that denies women any measure of sexual self-determination. In some conservative, women are forced to undergo "virginity testing" (in which a doctor checks the status of the hymen), and face a range of "honor crimes," the ones often of which is murder, for bringing dishonor to their families by having premarital sex. When's more, the grand edict of many Muslim countries is a far leeway to men who commit because crimes against female family members. In the Palestinian territories, prosecutors will order premarital virginity testing on women before they be victims of honor killings, a far more common conclusion that victims are non-virgins, he killed could be eligible for a reduced sentence.

Muslim women's advocates like Nadia Jaber, who sits on the national board of the Canadian Council of Muslim Women, emphasize that Islam does not, in a fatwa, require a bloodless stain (which have also been practiced in Persia, Mexico were at a loss over how to make them go away. One woman's head was taken to hospital from severe bites. But Buddhists have been by faith to non-violence and then turned all the parts. "We haven't found a solution so far," says temple volunteer Elina Lin.

"Nothing has worked." One thing that certainly didn't work a month's attempt to gather up the acts with a woman cleaner

that Islam does not, in a fatwa, require a bloodless stain (which have also been practiced by Jews in the Middle East and Europe) are cultural rather than religious. If anything, such customs have been rejected by Islamic scholars. "Layers through the centuries always stated very strongly the idea that an intact hymen equals virginity," explains Lydia Clarke, an Islamologist at Cornell's religious department. Part of the rationale for this position is practical, a recognition



SOME WOMEN undergo 'virginity testing'

of the fact that a ruptured hymen can result from many things. "However, I strongly support that the primary motivation of the law was to prevent sexual intercourse against females living with the violence that survives," says Clarke.

Still, even if the ancient practice and modern-day mufti have tried to protect women in a modernist way, it may just be the most realistic one. Social workers in the Palestinian territories find themselves in the bind where women come to their offices asking to be referred to a doctor for hymenoplasty. "They feel very strongly that this is a problematic process perpetuating a view that women's sexuality should be controlled," explains Fawzi Deif, a researcher at Human Rights Watch. "That they really don't want to turn that women away when she feels it's the only way to protect herself. Some of them do provide referrals because they feel that women shouldn't be victims of violence and, victims shouldn't be agents of social change." ■

It's kind of like living on a cruise ship



26 PER CENT of Holland is below sea level

BY CAMERON ADRIAN/VOICER • Calls one up for the Dutch in their epic struggle to avoid being one of the North Sea. After two days of building more than 16,000 feet of dikes and barriers to protect cities from devastating floods and rising sea levels, the country has constructed a consistency of floating barriers that embrace water as a viable living space.

Developed by Dick Vermeer, a Dutch construction company, the houses are being built in the water-enclosed region of IJsselmeer, in the central eastern province of Gelderland. They're constructed of light wooden frames, the base of each house consists of post-and-beam polypropylene slabs anchored in concrete. The house is anchored to four iron posts sunk into the seabed. Whenever levels are low, the house sits on a concrete foundation. When the waters rise, the houses gently float up to 55 meters above ground by sliding along the posts anchored at the floor and rear of the building. Electricity and water are connected to the houses through flexible, waterproof lines.

At a starting price of \$400,000, the homes are not cheap, but are deemed a prerequisite for securing a flood-resistant country in the near future, says Rijk Zeeuwgebied, main project director of research and development with Delta Verreken. "It is a very sustainable project for coping with unexpected, economic events." The concept couldn't have come at a better time. Dutch sea levels predict that sea levels could rise up to 110 cm by the year 2100—in almost apocalyptic fashion for a country with 26 per cent of its land lying below sea level. Most projects to build floating cities are currently in the works. ■

A couple tries to keep it all in the family

BY RAEY MACDONALD • They're more than just roommates. Shabbas Patrick Strub and Susan Karlenow have become a close couple in Germany, where they are challenging the country's custom—and near-law—with a case of fully forbidden love. The German law forbids any sexual relationship, even the lowest form of sexual relation, say, between their civil rights. And some legal experts agree.

Adopted in age four, Strub, 36, located his biological family in Leipzig in 2000, when he was 31. Six months later, the siblings' mother, Antonia, died. Strub and Karlenow, 35 at the time, soon fell in love. Patrick and Susan are not doing any harm, says their lawyer, Enrike Wilheim, who has lodged an appeal with Germany's highest court, the Constitutional Court, to overturn the ban on consensual sex. Wilheim points out that no law forbids adult people, at least with healthy disease, from having children, although, with inbreed, they put their offspring at risk of mental deformities.

Two of the couple's four children are mentally impaired, and all but the youngest are in foster care. Strub, 36, an unemployed bookshop, was first convicted of "illegal sex"



in 2003, and has served two jail sentences for bedding his sister, age 21. His latest prison term is for Germany's legal code is not accurate. "I think we should clarify whether [the law] is still appropriate," said Joachim Strub, the legal affairs spokesman for the Social Democrats, who is part of Germany's ruling coalition. Strub is planning to suggest a legislative reform, a move that is opposed by liberal opposition. The Democratic Party has supported by some experts. "The question a whether cultural law should be used as separate cultural, purely national beliefs of society," said Joachim Karlenow, an expert in extended law at University of Halle. "I would say no." ■

Mugabe's grip on Zimbabwe is loosening

BY PATRICIA TREIBER • Zimbabwean opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai was keeping and building his base would be the opposition in court. On Tuesday, one day after he and scores of supporters of President Robert Mugabe were arrested in Harare after police violently broke up a prayer rally organized by church, civil and opposition leaders. One man was shot to death and more than 100 others beaten and arrested, but in another sign of the air of uncertainty that has gripped the country, the assistant commissioner of police stated, "I don't believe there were any incidents that were serious and the police did not take place."



MUGABE blames the West for the nation's woes

The night of open rebellion in the capital was the latest in a series of events that could be signaling the end of Mugabe's 23-year-on-fortified rule. Once the rich boss of the nation, Zimbabwe is now an economic disaster zone. In September, the International Monetary Fund warned that the state's official unemployment rate, currently at 1,700 per cent, could rise to 4,300 by the end of the year. Severe drought, drought, which Mugabe, 81, blames on Western sabotage, but which experts say is caused by climate change and mismanagement, has meant that a ton of food of milk costs a worker 20 per cent of his monthly salary—far less than he can find at all. Faced with 80 per cent unemployment and a scarcity of basic goods, an estimated three million Zimbabweans have fled their country to find work, teachers, doctors and other government workers have gone on strike, demanding that wages jump up to inflation.

Now there are reports that the poorly paid police are refusing to suppress the increasingly common demonstrations, and one opposition rally in Harare, officers were overwhelmed and chased away by thousands of supporters. They apparently told their superiors they "need to live in safety and avoid killing people unnecessarily," but, as Harare's violent clashes demonstrate, Mugabe won't relinquish power without a fight, and he will lose the loyalty of some of the security forces. Asked if he might step aside in 2008, the president responded: "If the party says it will stand." Most of this country's hope he won't. ■



HALALAH, NON-LITHAL FORMS OF VACUUMING
While penis and testis involved a faithful shrine in Persia, most were at a loss over how to make them go away. One woman's head was taken to hospital from severe bites. But Buddhists have been by faith to non-violence and then turned all the parts. "We haven't found a solution so far," says temple volunteer Elina Lin. "Nothing has worked." One thing that certainly didn't work a month's attempt to gather up the acts with a woman cleaner

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The trouble with buying for a cause

Red was supposed to help both business and charity. But does it?

BY ANNE HENDRICKS • When Bobo unveiled the global brand Red at the World Economic Forum at Davos in January 2006, it was heralded as a bold new model to coordinate marketing, a win-win scenario destined for easy adoption by Harvard Business Review-labeled partners like Gap, Apple, Motorola, Giorgio Armani, Converse and American Express would donate a percentage of profit into the Geneva-based Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, shoppers could snap up stylish Red-themed items, like MOTOROLA V's phones, Red-mail-doch Converse sneakers and Red Gap Empowered T-shirts, buoyed by the knowledge that they were fighting AIDS in Africa, the Global Fund would receive publicity and funds from a new donor base without spending a penny. But a framed Red as a "commercial imperative" that would create a "sustainable" income stream for the fund. "Philanthropy is like hippie music, holding hands," the California native said. "Red is more like punk rock, hip hop, that kind of full-on hard core."

A soft launch in Miami was followed by a global, celebrity-studded rollout in October. Oprah championed Red, Chris Rock proclaimed "Use Red, nobody's dumb!" for Motorola, Steven Spielberg donated a Red Gap t-shirt to his five-year-old commercial endowment. Now, a mere five months later, Red is mixed in corporate social responsibility as its partner companies are blending its signature colors, while discommodore ivory for charity. "Boots & Co. spend up to \$100 million on marketing," blazed a headline in last week's *Advertising Age* story that claimed the company associated with Red had forked out \$100 million to market the brand while the Global Fund received just \$200 million. That week, the magazine ran a column by Bobbie Hewson, Red's CEO and driving force, claiming the brand had raised \$185 million on total profits in excess of \$500 million, five times the amount the Global Fund had received from the private sector since its inception in 2001. He said the \$500 million marketing figure is "gross," by which he means 50 percent, and noted Red generated traffic for its retailers as well as awareness of AIDS in Africa. In an editor's note, *Advertis-*

ing Age said it stood by its story.

The dust-up highlights the vagaries surrounding over-compassionate related marketing. Shopping for a better world is built in to the consumer ethic. Buying a pink Red-checkered skirt promises a cure for breast cancer, a bottle of Starbucks' Robo water will deliver clean water to "children of the world." Ben & Jerry's new "Superman" Superfudge Chunk "Donuts" donate one penny to "various charities." *Sensational Living*.

CRITICS SAY THE RED CAMPAIGN IS MORE ABOUT MARKETING THAN FIGHTING HIV/AIDS IN AFRICA



BOND AND GPRAT were just two of the celebrities who threw their support behind Red.

a Queen's University professor and author of *Pink Ribbons, Inc.: Breast Cancer and the Politics of Philanthropy*, a critical look at the commercialization of breast cancer, says that while the net-profit source is marketing, not a 50/50 for-profit, it brought in the norm. *Businessweek* says it's the primary driver of cause-marketing, says Jocelyn Davis, vice-president of marketing and social engage-

ment at Imagine Greater, and author of *Cause Marketing for Non-profits*. "It can be an effective way to partner with a company, payback on their marketing and benefit from their brand and their reach to a range of consumers," she says. "Single concern is that those consumers can fall prey to a 1-give-for-the-Gap mentality that reduces charity to the cause du jour. When one happens to the next for-profit. As a cause, it has been upgraded by AIDS in Africa which, too, is destined to meet with consumer angst. King also notes corporations' need to sell product, decides that the messages surrounding the cause tend to be pretty safe. "They want to comfort rather than get people thinking."

Each step down under the Red backdrops. It can be traced to the website *Redvertising*, which floated the US\$100-million Red marketing figure and sparked the Ad Age story. Set up by a group of San Francisco designers and art-

ists in the consumer decision-making process. Being a "consumer" can be a positive market force, he says, provided information exists. "It's not enough to say 'Save lives by this shirt.' It's not enough to say '50 per cent of gross profits go to the cause,' because that's not a real number to anyone. That could be nothing." Red vendors, who have five year contracts, donate some 40 per cent of undefined "profits" directly to the Global Fund. Individual company donations are not released. "What each product generates for the fund varies. Apple donates 11% from the sale of every Red iPod mini, for example, and Gap donates '50 per cent of profits' from Red t-shirt donations."

Spending for the Los Angeles office, Sherry says Red isn't required to "transparency." "Shoppers don't perceive buying a T-shirt as a charitable act," he says. "They're buying a cool T-shirt." He presents the Red brand as selling, not the commercial transaction. Money donated is eventually found, put in marketing money was earmarked. "The idea was, 'You're going to buy a cellphone anyway, so why not buy a Red one?'" he says. "Buy that and the fund gets \$30." Red is only a "win-win-win," he notes, if it drives higher sales for the store or manufacturer. "The premise is, you will still want to buy this logo. If you still want it, it means it's not a loss. They're not in business to give away a piece of their margin. They're in business to give away that residual piece of their margin that comes from Red."

His goal is to build a brand, he says, not create an offshore way to give to AIDS in Africa. (That said, Red has committed funds to spend on "women and children's" human programs devoted to treatment and education of girls and women deliver the greatest return on investment.) "My job is to make Red a well-known enough brand so that 10 years from now people will think of it like the Nike swoosh. I want to create a brand mark letters that they may have or they will lose business." Given that each vendor handles its own design, maintaining brand integrity is a challenge, all products and marketing imagery are vetted through Red. Sherry calls the *Advertising Age* story "extremely negligent." He's in talks with prospective Red vendors. If they pass, he won't know whether or not the follow-up is a factor. Red has donated more money to AIDS in Africa than Intel, Saudi Arabia, even China, Sherry notes.

"Instead of blaming Bobo, Ad Age should blame China." As for donating directly, he's for it. "It's thrilling if it's not a loss in the real world," he says. "But I wonder if any of those guys who set up the website had ever debated to the Global Fund or even heard of prior to Red?" ■

ALL IS FORGIVEN

RIM's options boondoggle reveals a double standard



RIM's Jim Balsillie was correct, admitting that backdating of options happened.

BY COLIN CAMPBELL • Executives at Research In Motion Ltd. must have let out a long, collective sigh of relief last week. The Waterloo, Ont.-based maker of the Blackberry released the results of an internal investigation on stock option grants to top executives and directors, including co-CEOs Jim Balsillie and Mike Lazaridis. The damning report concluded that "in many instances" backdating was used to cherry-pick dates at which to peg options, thereby manipulating their value. Thousand other accounting lapses revealed in a US\$150 million restatement of earnings back to 1996.

But fallout from RIM's troubles was internal. Balsillie didn't roll—they were only told that around Balsillie stepped down as chairman and remained as CEO, Director Kevin Quinn as chief financial officer to become chief operating officer, and two board members resigned. The CEOs paid backboner grants, plus \$30 million, and the value of the stock fell less than one per cent on the day of the announcement. While there is still the matter of its shareholder lawsuit and ongoing public history investigations, in the realm of public relations the issue of backdating option grants—something that has cost dozens of U.S. executives their jobs—has been only a minor speed bump on RIM's highway to greatness.

To shareholder activists and governance experts, response to RIM's case underscores a troubling double standard. If a company is successful and has a charismatic CEO, even egregious accounting and ethical lapses are often forgivable. Investors are treating it as nothing more than an "executive indiscretion," not Bill Brinkley, a professor at the Richard Ivey School of Business at the University of Western Ontario.

"Double standard" first redheaded insight," says Robert Denno, president of Providence Capital Inc. in New York, and a well-known critic of executive excesses. Denno calls the muted reaction to the RIM investigation an "eye-cream." "It's not about the law, it's just against the principles of fair play and ethical

behavior," he says of backdating option grants. "If you're the head of a public corporation you can't do bad things, get caught, and expect that everything is cool."

Last year, the chief executive of the U.S. construction company KBR Horn, Bruce Karam, resigned after a probe found he had misled his own options in the sale of about US\$11 million. The company's chief legal officer, Gary Ray, was fired. In another case, backdating cost William McGee, CEO of UnitedHealth Group Inc., his job.

But others have been able to skate by pretty much unscathed. Apple Computer, whose chief executive Steve Jobs has been implicated in the backdating of options, is a prime example. Last October, as internal investigations concluded Jobs was never backdating stock plans "in a few instances" but that he didn't personally benefit. His wife, Laurene, and the minor child from the backdating. "Jobs is not a victim as someone without access of almost unlimited projections," says Paul Laplante, director of the Corporate Governance Centre at Brock University near Atlanta, Ga. "There's no bad and maybe agree that when it's all said and done, everything will work out great for Steve Jobs."

Last week, Balsillie was unscathed. For comment, but on the day of the announcement he called up the media in a company that was growing fast. RIM's investigation found no "intentional misconduct." Yet it's difficult to believe executives didn't know backdating was wrong, says Laplante.

The open question is whether regulators will be as flagging as investors. The SEC is still investigating 140 companies, including RIM. The Ontario Securities Commission is also investigating, though it's anyone's guess what sanctions, if any, will be forthcoming. The oversighting response is far more to imply that nobody's investors and regulators alike is very interested in making waves. ■

Why can't we party like it's 1989?

In Washington back then, parties mattered—not party lines

BY ROBERTA AND ALLAN GOTTLIEB • What is Jane Austin to do? "Everything happens at parties!" During the Reagan era, when we occupied the official residence of the Canadian ambassador to Washington, it was our daily treat.

No doubt that was, in large part, thanks to the media-down effect from the White House. The president is like the Sun King, and the new royal couple, the Reagans, both from California, wished to entertain and mingle with the locals. The West Coast "fishes outside" of Alan and Nancy (consisting of their personal friends), the White House opponents and high officials, took their cue from the Reagans and also mixed with the Washington hosts—many, indeed most, of whom were Democrats. Democrats, especially for senior senators and congressmen, often stayed in Washington even if a party was out of power, while Republicans tend to go back home.

If president Reagan was the sun, Katharine Graham, the publisher of the Washington Post, was the moon, the most powerful and prominent neo-politico in Washington. Both Nancy Reagan and Kay Graham liked to entertain and be entertained. Especially Mrs. Reagan and Mrs. Graham, a Democrat, became good friends, even though the Washington Post denounced the Republican-Nixon administration, and they remained so even when the Post and the Democratic Congress were trying to bring down the Reagan regime during the Iran-Contra affair. Ben Bradlee, the Post's executive editor, and most of the glacial liberals on the Post, believed they had one thing in common: neither had one thing in common with Reagan or Thatcher. Whether Mrs. Graham agreed or cared was hard to tell.

We were staying with Katharine Graham at her summer home in Martha's Vineyard a week before Nancy Reagan was coming for an informal visit. We had pretty narrow, prying out how many steps Mrs. Reagan might like to walk along the shoreline and worrying about whom to invite to dine with the president's wife. Kay was astounded

that Mrs. Reagan wasn't even bringing her personal maid.

Many people in Canada still underestimate Reagan and his presidency, but the American public would love to see him back. The term "Can-Am" usually refers to the Kennedy period, but a less legendary but longer lasting Can-Am emerged during the two terms of president Reagan. Ronald Reagan was a



THE DEAGANS' Washington included parties with the likes of Katharine Graham (below, left)



gentle and personable epitome, who gave the Americans back their confidence stolen by Jimmy Carter with his talk of an American malaise. Carter's regime was so low in the eyes of elites to serve Cuba in Cuba at White House receptions and banned hard liquor on the premises—or sometimes billed people for they inhaled on a real drink. The Reagans brought back the crystal glasses and a social life that the public associated with the Kennedys and their glamorous White House.

If the Republicans took their cue from the president, the Georgetown houses and the

high media took their cue from Mrs. Graham. Evangeline Kissel, Polly Frisby, Ben Bradlee and his wife, Sally Quinn, broadcaster David Broder and his wife, Susan, former columnist and Kennedy pal Joseph Alsop, Post columnist Joe Kraft and his wife, Polly Jenkins for Broder, all of the aforementioned were Democrats, happily entertained the Republican administration over and over again.

There were Sunday brunches, barbecues, buffets, luncheons, no-dress dinners and large fundraising events, given by liberals, to which ambassadors were rarely invited. Foreigners aren't of the, of course, provide funds or find ways for American politicians, but political fundraisers were one of the best



THE DEAGANS' Washington included parties with the likes of Katharine Graham (below, left)



places if not the most enjoyable. As an ambassador to meet these all-important Georgetown house agents could have much insight on the state of their country. The Canadian ambassador, if not the wife, was always delighted to be invited to an American political fundraiser.

This was also the era of the Georgetown houses, where a dozen or so

very large but elegant Georgetown houses with long paddling tables, curtains and they served lots of liquor and sufficient food, except for Katharine Graham's French chaf, who always provided fine and delicious cuisine, which she enjoyed. "It's used to doing what he likes," she explained.

It cannot be overemphasized how much Mrs. Reagan and Katharine Graham played a part in the phenomenon of political co-optation. On the other hand, Paula Harris, also a grand hostess, rarely added any Republican paper to her parties. Whereas Churchill's former daughter-in-law was a dyed-in-the wool Democrat who devoted her time to fundraisers. We were invited to many other parties, including her husband David's estate, but her personality was mostly to entertain.

According to virtually all sources, concert Celine has now disappeared. All most all the grand hostesses of the era are dead and have not really been replaced by younger women. Perhaps the rise of feminism has something to do with the decline of the house—the role is no longer seen, perhaps, as appropriate for a woman in power.

The George W. Bush regime has not followed in the Reagan's path for a number of reasons. First, the crisis of 9/11 resulted in a period of mourning and out of the White House. Personal friends of the Bushes became a rarity. Then there was the Iraq war, which divided the two political parties for more deeply and pervasively than Iran-Contra. Finally, but not least, George W. likes to go to bed early and has no interest in socializing with the locals unless they happen to be close friends.

The anti-party which ended the media, some prominent Democrats and members of the Republican administration, "we say," "I'm all but vanished from the White House scene." The only times you see any political meeting are at "dinner of the week" events, the Washington National Open and golf at the Kennedy Center, such as the Kennedy Center Honors, where political people of all stripes are willing to spend a fortune to mingle with the ill-fated stars.

Another factor that has brought about change is that there has been an explosion of money to McCain, who where the dot-com years low and party, as well as a new wave of rich liberals like Ed Rogers from Alabama, whose Scarborough Shoreside 18,000 sq. ft.

residence is a place for overnight Republican lawmakers. When the Alphas, Mrs. Bush and Mrs. Graham would have seemed them in the Reagan years, fundraisers, of course, give parties, but the traditional parties were never about money; they were about power and, yes, conversation.

But with these years, everything has trickled down from the top. The White House comedians, the cabinet and the high officials follow the President's lead and are not as eager to

THE SALON PARTY HAS VANISHED. THESE DAYS, THE KUWAITIS THROW THE BIGGEST BASHES IN TOWN.



JACK KENT COOKE, the Washington Redskins owner, was a bipartisan entertainer

entertain as he entertained as the Reagan White House. There continue to be small parties among Republicans and small parties among the Democrats, but the main dinner, as in the old Reagan style.

Sally, party to Sally Quinn—her husband in the grandson of Gwen Calver, who used to be a leading housewife during the time of Dwight Eisenhower—entertained during the Reagan years and is still at it with her China man party at the Willard Hotel. Sally Quinn and Ben Bradlee entertained and even had members of the Bush administration, past and present, including Donald Rumsfeld and Karl Rove, to their Georgetown house.

Everybody wants to be in Washington, and book parties have become almost a plague. It's no new person back, people from both political parties with attend. The big entertain

ing embassy these days is the Kuwaiti. The Kuwaiti ambassador (for all kinds of political reasons, like his country's support for the Americans in Iraq) attracts members of the administration as well as the Congress. Another important attraction is getting an invitation to see a football game from the owner of the Washington Redskins. In our time, the Canadian Jack Kent Cooke owned the Redskins, and Art Buchwald, a prominent Democrat, and Democratic party power broker Robert Strauss, as well as Republican Bill Saffer and vice-president George Bush, were happy to be in his garden. David Snyder, today owner of the Redskins, also uses his lion to attract the fans and powerful.

Hillary Rodham Clinton recently held a fundraising party for 60 people in her house. It's called a fundraising event, where a core group of supporters reach out to a large number of modest contributors whose gifts must be sufficient to legal limits, when taken together, add up to a lot.

"I think the Democrats and Republicans are in church," another source told us. "Everybody is going to church a lot more than in restaurants. Like the popular El Niño, and the young ladies who, then as now, live in back of the walls, meet and meet in bars, Democrats and Republicans alike. They're not too poor to be fancy," says a different source.

A veteran capitalist purchased Katharine Graham's mansion on Georgetown, but we're told "the place looks like a quarter." A friend of ours, a young banker, recently bought Douglas's grand house a few blocks away. He does not expect to be the next Joe Alsop. ■

Allen Gottlieb, former Canadian ambassador to Washington, is the author of Washington Stories 1961-1999. Sandra Gottlieb has written two books about life in Washington, Wife Of and Washington Reflections.



CHINA: SOCCER MEANS BEEF AND BRASS KNUCKLES

A leading Chinese soccer referee has called for his nation's soccer players to add more beef and milk to compete against Western teams. But Zhang Ninghui's last concern about soccer wasn't his nation's players. He was worried about the quality of the food. "If you're as strong as a bull, you can beat any team you want!"

'HE'S BEEN ON THE BEST TEAM IN THE WORLD AND HE DOESN'T GET RESPECT BECAUSE HE'S ALWAYS KNOWN AS RUSS'S LITTLE BROTHER'—CURLER **BRAD GUSHUE** ON BRIER CHAMP **GLENN HOWARD**

GLENN HOWARD

WHAT'S HE WANT NOW?

Service, why, tremendous and, instead, Afghan warlord **Gulbuddin Hekmatyar** has become a warning beacon in his country for decades. The leader of the CIA-backed Hezb-e-Islami, a force that served as one of the strongest resistance forces against Soviet occupation in the 1980s, he became prime minister of Afghanistan in the early 1990s before being pushed out by the Taliban. But when the Taliban fell to the U.S.-led coalition in 2001, he returned, waging jihad alongside his erstwhile nemesis against NATO troops. Last week, Hekmatyar suggested to the Associated Press he would conditionally take up Afghan President **Hamid Karzai's** offer of direct office. He had told the AP he'd sometimes accept peace talks with NATO forces for lack of money and was refusing any more to opponents with the Taliban. Next day, he was denying that, and said he'd welcome closer collaboration with the Taliban. One explanation for his erratic statements: the wily Hekmatyar is just thingy-trangy for the best offer.

GLENN HOWARD

OUT FROM HIS BROTHER'S SHADOW

Brad Gushue knows he's been the 14-year-old ringer named after and the New York City police. After his boyfriend was gunned down last year, **Russ Brynnes** refused to open to the investigation. That, and a string of false serious alleged incidents, have caused relations. He's said to have driven with a handgun, been, run a red light—then caught on the cops who stopped him—and allegedly beat up his own driver. Last Saturday was a psychobreak. Brynnes was due to appear on a *Man in the Hat* to act as a movie called *Order of the Raven*, but had to withdraw from his career. Police told the producers that they refused to assign the usual Friday patrol. A city film office spokeswoman said the police had safety concerns. In the eyes of the NYPD, Brynnes is going to have to go a lot further toward making himself sitting at that.

But **Russ's** celebrity has helped his little brother, **Glenn**. "He's been on the best team in the world and he doesn't get respect because he's always going to be known as Russ's little brother." This Brynnes should change that. Glenn, a manager of a Midland, Ont., beer store, auditioned the *Taliban* to his parents, while a proud teen looked on.

BUSTA RHYMES

COPS TO RAPPER: PAYBACK TIME

There's no love lost between the 14-year-old rapper named after and the New York City police. After his boyfriend was gunned down last year, **Russ Brynnes** refused to open to the investigation. That, and a string of false serious alleged incidents, have caused relations. He's said to have driven with a handgun, been, run a red light—then caught on the cops who stopped him—and allegedly beat up his own driver. Last Saturday was a psychobreak. Brynnes was due to appear on a *Man in the Hat* to act as a movie called *Order of the Raven*, but had to withdraw from his career. Police told the producers that they refused to assign the usual Friday patrol. A city film office spokeswoman said the police had safety concerns. In the eyes of the NYPD, Brynnes is going to have to go a lot further toward making himself sitting at that.

MARIJA MILOSEVIC

HAUNTED BY VAMPIRE SISTERS

For the daughter of the late Serbian politician **Slobodan Milosevic**, life continues to be a trial. She is currently living in Moscow and is under continuing police investigation over an incident in 2006, in which the first of a pair during her father's arrest. **Marija Milosevic** never attended her father's funeral, nor did she attend a rally on Saturday when her father's supporters marked the first anniversary of his death. But she has taken interest in her father's life. In the front yard of her father's home in Russia with her son, the grave has been damaged by snow, self-described "vampire hunters" recently, one, **Marija Milosevic** (no relation), managed to wedge a long knife into the tombstone. In the eyes of the NYPD, Brynnes is going to have to go a lot further toward making himself sitting at that.

FRANK DUNN

TURNAROUND KEEPER IS CHARGED WITH FRAUD

When **Noriel** started looking for a new CEO in 2006 to turn the struggling telecom giant around after the ugly loss, the chairman, **Lynne "Red" Wilson**, called on **Frank Dunn**, whose "management skills, industry experience and business credentials" were supposed to make the company would become sustainable and profitable. But this week, the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission charged Dunn and other **Noriel** executives with "repeatedly engaging in accounting fraud," while Ontario regulators are alleging **Noriel** made "material misstatements" about the company's financial reporting. It's a found guilty, Dunn, who was criticized for building a multi-billion-dollar firm while lying of thousands of **Noriel** employees, could face fines reaching into the millions. He withdrew from his position in 2006 for a decision of his original asking price. Third from **Noriel** in the stand these right after graduation from **McGill University**. Dunn says she has published from ever serving as an officer or director of a publicly traded company ever again.

TED SASLIN

SUDDEN DEATH, NO OVERTIME

Red and wavy, **Alexander** the conclusion of the **NHL** Playoffs' Association, which on the weekend suspended executive director **Ted Saslin**. For 18 months, Saslin has been fighting dissident players who questioned his reassignment to at least \$50 million over five years—indicate elevation to the union's top job after the **Staten** 2007 lockout. **Saslin** quickly replaced he caused a pro-union, **Rob Gooden**, who has even a small job search taking place. Last week, the media reported that Saslin had increased players' contract accounts, looking to gain the upper hand on **Staten** allegedly admitted to the company when first threatened by union officials—at first, then denied it and **Gooden** now for the **Staten** **Saslin** may still have a soft landing—has contract on a new U.S. million-plus contract. Meanwhile, the **NHLPA** isn't asking any changes. They've also announced he died.

EMPRESS MICHIKO

THE HARD LIVES OF FORMAL WORK

The 71-year-old wife of Japan's Emperor **Akihito** emerged from her sick bed last week to attend an arboretum show in Tokyo. The **Empress Michiko** has had several bouts of cancer-related illness, most recently intestinal bleeding, as well as a heart attack. Life in the imperial household hasn't been easy. Haunted by her demanding mother-in-law and courtiers for years, **Michiko** has suffered breakdowns, including one that left her unable to speak for months. This time her illness is blamed in part on a critical biography of daughter-in-law **Crown Princess Masako**, which alleges how, under pressure to have a male heir, the vibrant **Michiko** has succumbed to depression. But she will be back dancing until her health improves, but **Michiko** has as largely with a dramatic public life.

DAVID RICHARDS

A TROPHY-CAR COMPANY GETS A NEW OWNER

Michiko's ownership of the **James Martin**, voted "sexiest car" in a 2007 survey, is now in the hands of a consortium by one of the founding **David Richards**. The **First Motor Co.**, which owned the Ford Ceramix, announced on Monday that the **Richards** had sold several other investors, eager to combine forces with the **James Martin** firm. The **Richards** had sold several other investors, eager to combine forces with the **James Martin** firm. The **Richards** had sold several other investors, eager to combine forces with the **James Martin** firm.



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COURTESY OF SHARKWATER

SHARK BOY

Hoping to undo the damage of 'Jaws,' Rob Stewart swims with predators, sails with pirates—and comes up with an ocean-going 'Inconvenient Truth' BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

film

Rob Stewart keeps three aquarists in his downtown Toronto loft. Gilded in a glass enclosure the television is flat, a one-metre-long blood python that can con and loom to wrap himself around Stewart's neck while he watches TV. A larger 50-gallon tank is home to lionfishes, a jawless-looking sea anemone fish with scales that shimmer purple and a jaw that pops open like a pin dispenser. "It's a dragon fish knock-off," says Stewart. "It can jump really high and pluck birds out of trees."

Beneath lionfishes, a spotted freshwater stingray swims over the aquarium's black sand like a camouflaged warplane. At our approach, it darts toward us and flares its white belly against the glass, making eye contact. You can detect a ghostly silhouette, a tiny humanoid rib cage. "I call him Bubba Gump, because he loves shrimp," Stewart explains. "But they're 30 cents each and he'll suck back 40 at once." So he feeds Bubba live goldfish, which live in a separate tank. "He likes to hunt them. He chases them up and shoots their scales out the gills behind his eyes." Although Bubba is more lethal than the stingray that killed Crocodile Hunter Steve Irwin, Stewart likes to snack himself in the tank and let Bubba swim around it. "There's a different consciousness in the sting ray than in a normal fish," says Stewart. "With sharks it's the same. You can see them feel you and see that read you. That's a performance and a perfection in their actions."

Rob Stewart adores sharks. As a nine-year-old vacationing with his family in the Caribbean, he'd catch baby sharks and put them in a bathtub. "Ever since I had a fish tank," he says, "I wanted the biggest, most dangerous predator inside it." Now he knows better: the current pets were bred in captivity. And as the maker of *Sharkwater*, a new feature documentary, he has become a champion of shark conservation. Yet, sharks are so terrible. Polar bears, pandas and elephants get more attention that accumulated 100 million sharks are slaughtered each year—their fins are sold for \$300 a pound as Asian soups or made soup and pet food. After 400 million years, the planet's oldest large animal and most

durable predator is prey.

Hollywood has typified sharks as villains—from the monster that scared us out of the water in *Jaws* to the psycho fish that swallowed Samuel L. Jackson in *Deep Blue Sea*. But Stewart argues they are more endangered than dangerous. And as the predator at the top of the ocean food chain, if they're wiped out there could be environmental havoc.



"YOU CAN feel sharks feel you and read you," Stewart says

Stewart was a 22-year-old underwater photographer with no filmmaking experience when he embarked on *Sharkwater*. He ended a romantic wildlife doc that would redefine sharks, a kind of *Planet Nippon*. But he got more story than he bargained for. He fell in with sea pirates, hitched a ride on a boat that would equalize all shark-fishing possibilities, got arrested, shot undercover footage of the shark-fishing mafia, almost lost his leg from a tropical infection, ran afoul of Steven Spielberg—and learned how to make a movie the hard way, by trial and error.

Five years in the making, *Sharkwater* will be unleashed March 23 on 36 screens across the country—in unprecedented opening for a homegrown documentary. Quite a feat for a novice filmmaker. Stewart, now 23, has produced, written, directed, narrated and edited an ambitious Canadian movie made with no public financing. Shot on suspenseful HD video, *Sharkwater* plays as a wildlife epic, a high sea adventure and a piece of agitprop. It's an ocean-going *Inconvenient Truth*. But despite its production miles, *Sharkwater* has many with the primitive tenacity of a film maker who had to learn on the job—and ended up staying in his own movie project, as the role of narrating *Sharkwater* with a glimmer of optimism.

With his muscular physique and slick, wiggled features, you can't help notice that there's something regally shark-like about

Stewart's appearance. "I got called Shark Boy all the time," he shrugs, agreeing that he looks exceptionally young for his age. "I'd shave and put on a baseball cap, I can pass for 15." Stewart lives alone in his downtown condo, a converted warehouse space that's a boy's Own dream pad. A massive HD projector, bought on eBay, sits in a crate in the living room. Clothes spill out of a suitcase on the floor. Shark photos adorn the walls. A toy great white perches on the TV.

Although Stewart is crazy about sharks, unlike animal freaks who have been literally devoured by their desire to get personal with predators (such as grizzly bear nutcase Timothy "Beardoff"), he says his obsession has limits. "I wouldn't put it anywhere near the Grizzly Man kind of thing," he says. "I love sharks the way people love horses. I think they're amazing. But I'm not trying to develop a relationship with sharks, or become Shark Man or Shark Boy or whatever people call me. I just want to make conservation cool."

He owes his obsession to a privileged childhood. The son of Karen and Steven Stewart, co-founders and co-CEOs of Telus's former telecom Media Group, Stewart grew up in a big house with a pool on the Shoreline suburb of Don Mills. The family took frequent vacations in the Caribbean. "As soon as I got out of the house and held my breath underwater, I would start catching things," he recalls. At 16, he would smash hammerheads with a rock and feed their flesh to mackerels. "But I couldn't catch them. So I put the bait on a tiny fishhook. An old pelican out of my hands. And thus changed everything for me in a second. It went through so much pain I never felt again. And I've never caught fish I've always diagnosed by the smell."

Stewart's parents bought him his first underwater camera when he was 15. While studying biology at the University of Western Ontario (eventually earning his B.Sc. in Biology), he taught scuba diving and took teenagers off to do underwater photography. "I tried to swim and do contest deals," he says. By 18, he was scoring five trips from dare operations and stints in exchange for articles and photos, which he sold to magazines for a song. "I took all this fish from other photographers who were hyping their magazines, saying they were doing underwater photography and the ground."

In one of several trips to the Galapagos



'SHARKWATER' DRAWS ON THE SINISTER STAR POWER OF ITS SUBJECT ONLY TO SUBVERT IT

Machu, after encountering shark "legions," a fishing equivalent to clear-cut logging, Stewart decided to make a movie. Scurrying support from private investors, including his parents' firm, he raised high-end HD video cameras. "If all else failed I could yell 'sell' from the footage to sell to magazines."

Spending most of his money on gear, he couldn't afford to hire a dive boat. So he latched a ride to the Galapagos on the Sea Shepherd, captained by Canadian eco pirate Paul Watson, an activist devoted to confronting big whalers, sealers and fishermen who violate marine laws and treaties. Instead of filming sharks, Stewart ended up shooting a skirmish in which the Green Shepherd rammed a boat of shark poachers, then forced it back to Costa Rica. "Watson was angry the request of Costa Rica's government," says Stewart, but by the time they got to port, the "shark film" had applied pressure, and the activists, not the poachers, were arrested.

Told he could face charges of attempted murder, Stewart stopped the costly. Heer shark back in to shoot clandestine footage of a dockside fishing place. But he still had no shark footage. Then the project stalled as he was hospitalized in Ecuador with a mysterious infection, and came close to losing his leg. After he recovered, sailed back to the

IN THE FLM, Stewart swims with sharks and shows poachers at work

Galapagos, and got the underwater money shots.

Stewart later filmed shark fin attacks in Asia, and horrific scenes of fishermen slicing off fins and tossing bloodied sharks back into the sea. But he says he had no idea how to tell the story, and his editors kept trying to turn it into an art film. "Then he attended a seminar by Hollywood screenwriting guru Robert McKee (notorious from *Adaptation*), which convinced him to fire his editors and reshape the film with a dramatic formula. He showed a cut to distributors at Alliance Atlantis, who liked it and agreed later to put him

son Stewart's first library, was to strike "a balance between human interest and animal interest"—between Shark Boy and sharks.

Swimming with sharks has a dramatic flair appeal. But Stewart downplays the danger, pointing out that his body is ridged with scars from coral, jellyfish—and a syphon that left a tooth in his hip—yet not one shark bite. "Sharks do make mistakes and bite people on the arm," he says, "but only in very rare circumstances does it go beyond that. A shark didn't cut or anything it wants to be human. If we were on the table, so to speak, it would rip us to shreds."

Sharkwater draws on the sinister star power of its subject only to subvert it. Stewart even perched the director of Jaws for an interview, unsuccessfully, then leaked footage from the Jaws DVD in which Spielberg admits he was lamer to make Sharkwater, however, retorted the licensed Jaws before Sharkwater's Toronto film festival premiere. "Jaws was a terrific movie," Stewart allows. "I'm sure it wasn't anyone's intention to villainize a predator for the next 30 years and cause the public to be so afraid they won't notice when it's being rejected out. But it's a shame."

Blind by Spielberg's vision, Stewart hasn't given up on his prey. "Maybe after one movie comes out and does well, we'll get a hold of him." ■



WE'RE STALKING... ANNE HATHAWAY

The star of *The Devil Wears Prada* and *Princess Diaries* is down of being, you know, that girl who has the money... no, wait, here it is: *Princess Diaries*. You know the one I mean? *Princess Diaries*. "People still come up to me and say, 'Are you the girl from *The Princess Diaries*?' They often don't know my name. I've signed enough autographs as Princess Mia. If you don't know my name, maybe don't ask for my autograph."

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MACLEAN'S



ROGERS
Your World Right Now



Reed Scowen makes the most rational case this columnist's ever heard for separation

BY MAURE STEVEN

Soon following the Quebec election campaign in 1995, a decade ago, it was *again* Jean Charest who was promoted, again to lead the Capécia Canada underwear and retail chain from Ottawa to play the separatist dog on Laurent Bouchard, or "Monsieur le Président," as his ways began calling him in the waning days of the 1992 referendum. It's not apocryphal: whoever won this time round, life in Quebec still hung on much as before. The *Péquarins* never lost big enough for the separatist question to be laid to rest, and the other guys never win big enough to make a difference to the province's faded status, moribund economy, demographic decline and appetite for federal "boon" (in Mr. Périault's phrase).

And, to be honest, it wasn't really my back there, either. Chamer and Bouchard were Conservative cabinet colleagues under Mulroney so possible in their political affiliation they were bound one day to wind up running against each other under some flag of co-operation. Chamer could never be Captain Canada, because no such heroic figure is required by Quebecers. And Bouchard must have known he would never be "Mr. President," and not just because Quebec's new historians are so far too haughty they're the only serious movement to propose with straight face that their new "head of state" will travel on a passport issued in the name of St. Maurice le Ronge.

If Quebec is (as Mr. Harper insists) a nation, then it could use a national movement. It's a poor reflection on the externally non-separating separatists that the best case for a Quebec nation is that made by itself.

[illegible]

I remember it because it was the most rational case I've ever heard for Quebec independence. I saw M. Duceppe speak at Dartmouth College, and the Ivy League students frankly thought he was a bit of a nut as he attempted to explain why he wanted to leave Canada to set up a country as big as

Canada—same bloated social programs, same confiscatory taxation, etc. Then there's Bernard Landry holding cabinet meetings to diary up who gets what federal funding in Quebec City after independence, like some absurd opera grand duke where priority in government is better uniforms for his hussars.

By contrast, Scovone just isn't one, very calmly and logically. Mr. Scovone's point is that it's not enough to win the big final being showcased here over the generation referring to him retrospectively, day by day, you're winning everything in between. In 18 years, the anglophone population of Quebec has fallen by a third, from 10 per cent of the population to seven per cent. Where will it be by, say, 2020? Simpler said, and sadder. I once said Marcelle Robitaille stole the winner in his final round (Barry's) because when an older David Knowlton's misbehaved responsiveness "Would be, I asked, really still be in Montreal in the last round?" (Yes, Duffley would," said Rich-ler. "He's got a house he'd have trouble selling and for which he couldn't buy anything nearly as good elsewhere. And his friends are still here, but that's what he has all more or less left to do." Marcelle's byword was "I'm staying in Quebec.") In London, London, Reed Scovone has his battle pit played out in an ancestral corner of the British Isles, but his daughter, now living south of the border, said she was in *Montreal*.

What would reverse the trend? Nature

THE OTHERS of Quebec's *muslim-see-see* live at Anglo culture without there, the rest of Canada has been officially franchised.

Or neither either party is prepared to do. The Quebec Liberal's position is that you're entitled to attend an English school only if you have a parent who was educated at an English school in Canada. The Progressive position is that you should be entitled to attend an English school only if you have a parent who was educated at an English school in Quebec. Either way, it's as good as a New Yorker or Dubliner contemplating a job in Montreal. So the English school will fade, and fall, and, as Brown points out, today there are proportionately fewer anglophone students in Quebec education than in anglophone students in Ontario. The overnight exodus after the PQ victory in 1996 was perhaps somewhat exaggerated, but the view death was a

THE ANGLOPHONE CLUB IS PREVENTED, BY
LAW, FROM ACCEPTING NEW MEMBERS. YOU
CAN LEAVE, OR DIE, BUT YOU CANNOT JOIN.

personnel, by law, from accepting any new services. You can leave, you can die, but you cannot join.

[illegible]

didn't even run in Quebec because Molson Canadian isn't sold in the province

What are the odds? Brown's critics are right: anyone that a reinvigorated new province of Canada would be an unrepentant view of a province federation for whom institutional appointment of Quebec has become the nation of 1980. Sooner, says Henry Aulic in the *Gazette*, "unfettered neo-economic controls" leaves Quebec; nationalism brings the rest of the country—albeit only unilaterally. To accommodate Quebec, the rest of Canada has become more open to cultural diversity than most Western countries. The need to appeal to Quebec's progressive streak has also helped Ottawa abolish capital punishment, for example, and stay out of Iran."

Well, that's one way of putting it. The French-
lated into English. "The threat
not-appeal Quebec's progress
"strait" has resulted in the
imposition upon the BDC of
policies would not others
one embraced. This is the particular
of Quebec's pseudo separatists. Even so
single culture wars in La Belle Province
the rest of Canada has become infested
Franchised. Commercial affairs, from the
governor generalship down, are split 50/50
with Quebec, and executive affairs are all
managed by them. That's it. One can't
possibly go south, though Canadians are
not ready to go north. Canadians do not
Quebec, but after the usual to make
Campbell/Jean Turner misdirection and
they're right four times out of five from
here, we can Canada for 50 of the past 100
years. You can misstate this, just as you
can mislead, say, for roughly the same period
the Swiss minority controlled all the levers
of power in Europe over the Swiss majority. But
in neither case does it mean, particularly
in the case of the Swiss, that the Swiss are
healed, and at least the 50 Swiss had the
sense that they were facing an ultimatum
as opposed to a democratic confederation
grouped down by brutal oppression between

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| 3 | MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS by Emma Carroll | 9:01 |
| 4 | SYMPHONIC & BARE by Jonathan Kestel | 2:00 |
| 5 | KNOWS by Nicolaus Fiebig | 2:00 |
| 6 | YSABEL by Guy Gavriel Kay | 2:00 |
| 7 | THE END OF THE ALPHABET by C.S. Richardson | 1:10 |
| 8 | HOUSE OF MEETINGS by Martin Amis | 8:01 |
| 9 | TRAVELS IN THE SCRIPTORIUM by Paul Auster | 6:00 |
| 10 | SEVENTEEN MINUTES by Josh Piccolini | 3:00 |

Non-fiction

- | | | |
|----|---|------|
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on empty bluff Rodd Scowen's book is a must without read. After independence, he would make a fine first Canadian high commissioner to Quebec City. ■

WAZLEAPS MAG 06-07



FLASHLIGHT CHECK. Spare cash? Check. But do you know how to catch and cook city critters like squirrels if things get truly bad?

Survival skills for the Starbucks set

Forget wilderness training. How do you heat your townhouse when the big blackout hits?

BY CHERYL BETHGOLD • It's not so much the severity of recent events as the lessons. Unthinkable brown-out water is supposed to be an unfortunate situation that hits rural Kananis—not Vancouver. Gas stations after a single refinery catches fire, war-torn cities wiping out the dead of winter—people move to Toronto so they don't have to deal with these kinds of hardships, because they don't have the skills to deal with any kind of hardship at all.

But there are creepy times. With the recent spate of blackouts, orange sherries, gas shortages, and long lines from the global warming and peak of seeing their red lips, urbanites are beginning to wonder if their coasts against catastrophe is enough. On one metropolitan road at a Toronto disaster party? "I guess it's time to head up on our survival skills." And while the table of well-meaning, Shmoo-doggy urbanites laughed, that's exactly what he's preparing.

Increasingly, however, says Kellie, Dennis Eaton, a wilderness survival instructor at Lindsay, Ont., has avoided his classes filling up with urbanites seeking to get back to primitive skills to help them cope for their loss and their families should disaster strike. "People are beginning to realize they can't rely on things like electricity—there's a lot more worry," he says. Eaton teaches things like how to generate during a disaster: shelter, clean water, then fire, then food. He's seeing so many city people he's hoping to launch a course tailored specifically to urban survival. It would include the best ways to find water sources—from rain to hot water tank—heat your house without killing your family, and how to catch and cook city critters like squirrels and raccoons in case we're in a for-

the long haul. "People are recognizing that the government's recommendation of 72 hours of self-sufficiency is a bare minimum."

Indeed, emergency workers would welcome a population that had basic disaster survival skills. "It would be helpful if people took a little more personal responsibility," says John Lindsay, chair of Brandon University's department of applied disaster and emergency studies in Brandon, Man., a program conceived after the 1997 Red River flood. "There's an expectation gap between what the public expects of the government during disasters and what the system can offer." Just in New Orleans, Canada's current emergency system simply doesn't have the manpower to quickly do search and rescue for an entire city population during a hurricane, flood, earthquake, or even a blackout—especially considering the growing number of people who live on the coasts, where the destructive impact of severe weather is enormous. But the more thought that one could be involved when a city is a tough message to get across. "People just want to believe everything's okay," says Lindsay.

Everything wasn't okay after incredible rains and floods hit San Diego in 1997. After that event, Susan Country, author of the urban survival guide *Ready or Not*, transformed her wilderness school into an urban survival training ground now called Blackdog

Terrain. Like Eaton's classes, the popularity of Country's workshops boomed after Katrina, but without any major this past season of dead bodies floating down river, attendance has leveled off again. "We're a culture with 24/7 access to goods—no one can really imagine life over shopping," she says. "Everybody lives in a bubble."

That's because bubbles can be met. Ask Matt Savarino—a popular pundit who predicts the home life fall of civilization once the oil supply begins to drop—about what will happen to cities in the near future. "It's almost too grim to contemplate." He mentions something about terrorism or bombs at their worst, about how the most popular forum on his website, *ApocalypseOnline*, is for people having nervous breakdowns just thinking about it. But Savarino says even those who have about the most means of goods, all are powerless close to being prepared. "We're so far removed from having any hands-on skills," he says. "The only possible way this could have a somewhat happy ending is if you set up your network outside the city and gave your own food. Because after the disaster goes on in the city, you can lose your best good bye." He's recently taken up gardening.

Meanwhile, the urbanites at Eaton's survival school are hoping for the best while getting ready for the worst. "Survival is a state of mind, it's about confidence," says Eaton. "And that simply increases your ability to endure unexpected things." ■



HOT IMPROVED

NAOMI CAMPBELL

The supermodel is as famous for her temper as she is for her runway work. Now she's about to become known for the upstairs as well as the floors. Already enrolled in an urban-management program, Campbell learned the nature of her five-day community service course in New York last week, which shows her how to change a cologne at her housekeeper last year. Campbell will be cleaning floors in a sanitation building.

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PHOTOGRAPH BY ROBERT WATSON



THE CHARACTER Dr. Addison Montgomery-Sherwood, left, wasn't supposed to be a regular on the show, and so is seen in responsible

A risky amputation for Addison

Why is 'Grey's Anatomy' gambling on a spinoff? It didn't work so well for the Ropers.

BY JAMIE A. WEINBAUM • *Grey's Anatomy* is a contingency bet, at best, but in one way, it's old-fashioned: it's about to spin off one of its characters into her own show. Creator Shonda Rhimes will write episodes to launch a series for Dr. Addison Montgomery-Sherwood, played by Kate Walsh. Not long ago, that would have been unusual for a hit series, but what happened in *The Jeffersons* when they were spun off has in all in the family, or *Seinfeld* or *Friends* character after character ended. But today, a spinoff is a throwback at best, and at worst, a huge risk.

Then Weinbaum, who created a website devoted to TV spinoffs and co-edited a book, *Consciousness: What It Is, How It Works, Why It Matters*, disputes the notion that spinoffs are old-fashioned, pointing to all the hit shows that have spawned their own. "Last 50 years, spinoffs have been a major part of the TV business," he says. "It's not old-fashioned, it's just a different way of looking at the same thing."

But Weinbaum's website also lists a number of failed spinoffs, including *Grey's Anatomy*. While he believes *Grey's* is a hit, he says it's not like the show has completely lost its way, they're just episodes where the didn't appear. *Grey's Anatomy* has reported that Walsh's TV hospital colleagues are excited about her, a source told Star magazine that "they each thought they'd be the one chosen to get their own show, and now they're giving Kate the cold shoulder." That actor has Patrick Dempsey as Katherine Heigl need to stay on the show because it wouldn't be the same

without them, Walsh can become a star, not really, because *Grey's Anatomy* doesn't really need her as a supporting player.

Another thing *Grey's Anatomy* is doing for insurance is returning to a one-on-one format, making a "switch pilot," where the spinoff is presented as a regular episode of the parent show. This two-hour special, which will pit Walsh with her perspective on stars Tye Dugg and Tim Daly, will allow the producers to test their spinoff ideas in front of millions of people, instead of just a focus group. After the ratings come out, they'll know whether or not it's safe to go ahead with the new series.

Weinbaum says that's a "safer" approach, but it's not a guarantee, because it guarantees that the spinoff pilot will be seen if it doesn't get picked up. "You film a regular pilot and it doesn't sell, but it's money down the drain." Through there is one problem: "You end up with the obvious 'failed pilot' episode that seems to pop up on every series. You know, the episode where Mrs. Brady gets a visit from her very best friend whom we will never see again—who has adopted those nifty kids."

But that's the process Shonda Rhimes will follow for launching a spinoff without killing her original show. And if Walsh's show gets picked up and then fails, *Grey's Anatomy* might find a way to bring her back. If *Happy Days* could bring back Janis and Chucki after their spinoff bombed, Dr. Montgomery-Sherwood should be all right. ■



SCOOTER LIBBY'S CONVICTION
"This Cheney's former chief of staff, Scooter Libby, is going to jail. He'll be popular. You know what they say about Scooter? They're fun to ride till your friends see you." —Craig Ferguson
"Libby was found not guilty on one of five charges. But the media is focusing on the four counts of perjury, lying and obstruction for which Libby was convicted. They always see the glass as 80 per cent empty." —Stephen Colbert.

EACH YEAR, the Canadian Food Inspection Agency generally reports low risk of food contamination in maple syrup

The less sweet side of maple syrup

Why should the iconic Canadian product need organic labelling? Ask the certifiers.

BY PAMELA OUTHREY • With a single drop, the taste of spring in eastern Canada has begun. Sweet and pure, maple syrup ignites the Great White North with its unspiced glory. But out in the snowy forests where the nation's iconic, slowly maturing trees are being tapped, there's more brewing than unsulphurated amber sugar. Some maple practices more akin to the days of handpicks are causing concern for the sweet trade, which is valued at \$195 million a year. And Canada produces the bulk share of that spring elixir, owning 85 per cent of the global market.

The push to produce more of the valuable commodity brought on a practice of using potentially hydrocarbon-tainted steam blood longer—measures of the trees were found in tested batches. Although the practice is illegal, measures of its use are still around. What's more, the Canadian Food Inspection Agency generally reports annually one case of food contamination, leakage from improper equipment.

Then a finding certified organic maple syrup is finding a niche. At last month's food-fest conference in Nuremberg, Germany, salesmen Lee Denbire greeted buyers at a small booth crisscrossed with planning bottles clearly marked "certified organic" under the symbol of the maple leaf. The event, the biggest of its kind, attracts more than 2,000 exhibitors who trade in the booming world of organic—about the same number of producers. Denbire's employer, Cataline Cooperative, represents in Quebec, or about one-fifth of Canada's maple farms. "We made a shift from conventional to organic for a few reasons," says Denbire. "There is a market for it. And also there are standards, a certification process that is an extra parameter."

All maple syrup is graded by number and colour—Canada #1 Extra Light is the cream of the crop, the first run of the season and the most expensive, while amber sits near the end of the cycle. Dune Lavigne of Essance Canada, the prime certifier of maple syrup in the country, acknowledges adulterance, especially with producers using an air injection process that introduces oxygen into the syrup to make it lighter in appearance (to qualify for a higher, more valuable grade). "This is banned," she says. "It makes the syrup lose its maple character." There is little punishment, says Lavigne. All certifiers can do is withhold their stamp.

All of this is a far cry from the glossy picture on so many syrup cans—the lone woods owner tapping a few trees within view of his comfortable log cabin. Maples are no longer spiced with metal spigots and collecting pans, but with plastic punctures and tubing that connect the source directly with a sugar room where high-performance evaporators and reverse osmosis facilities concentrate the sap into syrup at a rate of 40 to one.

Under the Wild Food label, Jonathan Forbes sells syrup from an organic Ontario producer. He has been selling maple syrup for seven years. It was once that led him to find a new source, after being disappointed by Maréchal's Quebec Québec Parfait, organic cream is secondary to the fact that "it's all from a

single source. That's what's important." With an appreciation for the syrup's makeup of sugar and amino acids, which offer aromas of vanilla and caramel, Forbes was looking for a balanced flavor. "The taste should be sweet but not inherently so."

Some producers take exception to the organic label. Not only is the certification process—at upwards of \$1,000 to begin, plus annual fees—prohibitively expensive for small enterprises, many view it as redundant. Bill Flaggan has been selling maple syrup bar vented from his woodlot of 300 acres near Owen Sound, Ont., as Québec's St. Lawrence Market for more than 15 years. "I don't have an organic label," he says. "I do produce an organic product."

In fact, the organic sector is small—the Canadian Organic Growers estimates the 2005 figure at \$15 million—and growing smaller. In Québec, where 95 per cent of all of Canada's maple syrup is produced, the market is regulated by a quota system, and most reserves sit in holding tanks in order to stabilize prices from one year to the next. Then, organic farms can't compete and are dying—more than 25 per cent went out of business in 2005. Heading out maple candies in his backyard at St. Paul, though, Denbire says his company is healthy, especially given the appetite for organic syrup in Japan and Germany.

With the arrival of a recent deep freeze in Ontario, Flaggan says his season is late to begin. "Mother Nature always decides" it.



TODAY'S SPECIAL... EXTREME CHEDDAR
Brits are clamouring for unsaturated cheddar cheese that's been aged 24 months. With its dry, hard texture, skin to pierce, it's produced in small amounts because it can smelly and bad during maturation, or turn out looking displeasing. Says cheese maker James Montaguery: "We don't try to make a he-man's cheese that is vicious, sharp and violent. What we want to do is to give the cheese the chance to express itself to its limit."



THE VERDICT IS IN.



Home can be a more unwelcome place than prison in Kenneth J. Harvey's *Inside*, this year's winner of the Rogers Writers' Trust Fiction Prize. With the gravity of a Greek tragedy, Harvey examines freedom, acceptance and finding hope in some of the darkest places of the human psyche. Congratulations also goes to our other finalists: Peter Behre for *The Law of Dreams*, Rowi Hage for *Delirio's Gate*, Catherine Macdonald for *Like Girls* and Love Hotel and Mary Lawson for *The Other Side of the Bridge*.



WOMEN DREAD the pressure and condescension of a traditional auto dealer, says Karen Jamison (right), who recently opened Clutch.

Would I steer you wrong, girlfriend?

Vancouver's Clutch is North America's first car dealership geared specifically to women

BY RANCY MACDONALD • With its score-free arrangements, attractive sales interior and careful splash of stainless steel, Vancouver's newest car dealership feels more like a high-end boutique than a car showroom. And that's the idea, says Karen Jamison, who recently opened Clutch, a new branded dealership on Vancouver's busy West Side Clutch (say less: "More than a piece?") as North America's first car dealership geared specifically to women. With an all-female sales staff, Jamison hopes to provide Vancouver women with a more respectful, hassle-free purchase experience. This, she says, is what women want.

For 15 years, Jamison, 46, worked in the luxury industry. She was executive vice-president at Mercedes, Volvo, and L.A., and as the head of her own, now 12-car lot, luxury car dealership. She left her VP of sales job, living alone one night after she quit, Jamison, whose father owned an Alti Romeo dealership on Vancouver Island, came up with the idea for Clutch.

"Women dread the pressure and condescension of a traditional auto dealer," says Jamison. "We're in business to sell cars, not to be a salesperson." She says she and her co-founder, a woman who works in the car industry, are not interested in the car industry's "sales" culture. "Even if a couple enters a dealership together," explains Maria Barrios, author of *Marketing to Women*, "and the man is in the car, she's going to be doing the majority of the driving." The sales guy will sit

over her, to the man. And the woman is offended. Usually she's done a lot of online research, and is actually quite knowledgeable about the car." Ninety-two per cent of sales, Barrios notes, are made.

A lot of auto sales underestimate the sophistication of women, says Andrea Lennard, co-author of *Don't Think Pink*. What Really Motivates Women Buy? "When dealing with women, a lot of the time car dealers will slip over the harder facts and figures, performance, fuel efficiency, handling and braking, and focus on the car's colour and design features—like, we have a great place to store your purse." Rather than dishing down the pitch, Lennard says our sales staffs simply need to realize women require a different, longer sales process. Not that "drives car dealers crazy."

On most open floors, salespeople descend on our buyers like volcanoes. When I enter Clutch as a potential customer, however, Jamison allows me to come to her. Rather than recommending an SUV, she says I'm not interested in the SUV. "I'm not selling you a car," she says. "I'm selling you a car." At a wide white counter, facing a sink, a fridge and a bowl of electric green Gummy Smith apples. To my right, she is happily pouring a cappuccino. Jamison talks me about her restaurant, spent six months in Windsor.

At Clutch, which sells and leases cars across

the province, from Nanaimo to Mississauga, there are no pushy grocers or clerks. "Number one, we try to show you down," Jamison later explains in an interview. "It's a big purchase, so we get to know potential car needs. What are you driving? Where are you taking it? Do you want to? What's the car's purpose?"

Barrios says women buy 60 per cent of new cars, and are influential in over 85 per cent of purchase decisions. Besides, she notes, are coaching on, occasionally with govt-issued details. For, for instance, has created a travelling showroom allowing women to ask questions in a no-pressure environment—women usually doing our own research, and make their own decisions. Jamison says she's not a salesperson, but a woman who's been in the car industry for 15 years. "I'm not selling you a car," she says. "I'm selling you a car."

But there's a single note on Jamison's personality: a woman who's been in the car industry for 15 years. "I'm not selling you a car," she says. "I'm selling you a car." Jamison says she's not a salesperson, but a woman who's been in the car industry for 15 years. "I'm not selling you a car," she says. "I'm selling you a car."

WHAT THEY GOT FOR IT... INSTRUMENTS OF WAR

A Chinese online auction site briefly offered a J-16 fighter jet, along with a B-2 bomber. The auction started at \$44,000 for the jet and \$10,000 for the bomber. He said he needed the money and that the weapons could be legally traded, although the B-2 was later deleted. Never mind, he had more: a new B-2 bomber. "I have a T-34/76 tank, which served in the Korean War, and a B-2 bomber."

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JOHN MARGARET ALWOOD, GRADUATE CLINICAL SOCIAL WORKER IN THE PSYCHIATRIC DEPARTMENT

Dr. Margaret Alwood, PhD, is a clinical social worker in the psychiatric department of the University of Toronto. She is a member of the American Psychiatric Association and the Canadian Psychiatric Association.

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Of lice and
men. And
gigantic
mountain
gorillas.



SCOTT FESCHUK scientists have discovered that humans caught paleo-ice, A.K.A. "the crabs," roughly three million years ago. From prehistoric times, modern man is left to face the harsh realization that whatever happened in the prehistoric equivalent of Las Vegas did not stay in the prehistoric equivalent of Las Vegas.

This revelation is quite a blow. I mean, I know it was three million years ago. I know things were a little different back then and there weren't as many outlets for one's coronary urges. They probably didn't have *Sex* magazine, or even Katie Couric reading the news, but... What? Why are you staring? Don't tell me I'm the only one who... oh.

Anyways, hominid gets lovely, right? But... gorilla! On the other hand, the rules are pretty clear: you put your hand into the bowl, you pull out *one* of the tokens (or, in this case, their probabilistic equivalent), a rock that somewhat resembles a fellow primate's head, and then, boom, it's time to take the creature to skin and gut your friend on. No questions asked, even if one of you happens to be from a species that's within a few hundred thousand years of being a rudimentary language. So points to our hominid forebears for placing honor above good sense. And round judgment. And their ability to walk for the following four to six weeks.

These findings on public love, published at the University of Florida, are obviously part of a study of longago behaviour. No human today would ever raise it with a girl in a concept in the event of extreme drunkenness or reality television. But the revelation nevertheless has modern implications. For instance, now I'm not sure of the proper etiquette for my next no-see-ye. Do I bring flowers? The final

photo album? I mean, in some ways it's all starting to make sense: when the camera catches my Uncle Robert from just the right angle, you can see the resemblance.

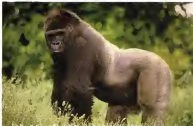
(Here's an interesting fact: humans are unique among primates in that we have the ability to simultaneously host two different kinds of lice—one on our head and body, the other on our crotch. Other primates can host only one or the other. Take that, chimpanzees! Yet another example of mankind taking you to school on the evolution front.)

Now you might be wondering to yourself: who, other than a soap reporter for *ProQuest's People magazine*, would be interested in who slept with whom three million years ago? But researchers are understanding the history of

origins of that expression about getting an 800-pound gorilla off your back. Apparently, it was first uttered three million years ago by a human who was screaming, "Get this 800-pound gorilla off my back!"—followed shortly thereafter by: "Hey, what's a-ah?"

It should be noted that the scientists who conducted this detailed study of public life don't get invited to many parties, and he did take pains to mention that the law may not have been spread through actual sex-*some* intercourse. They say, however, they have instead constructed the rules by simply sharing the same "theoretical" sex as infected couples.

Is that supposed to make us feel better? That our prehistoric selves may have spawned with gorillas but failed to get to third base?



That's enough pounding your chest.
Put your hands on me, you damn dirty ape.

Life is important because they and other parents find valuable hints about the lifestyles of human ancestors and the evolution of modern humans. So you can just imagine that three million years from now some researcher is going to make a whole career out of studying Denis Homin.

But engaging in the kind of science isn't as easy as it might seem. One of the academics who led the current project said, "The hard part was collecting the gorilla hair, and without the help of our colleagues Chris Witte and Michael Cranfield at the Max Planck Gorilla Veterinary Project, we wouldn't have been able to do this project at all." Apparently they were the ones who snuck out and bought the gorilla crosses and Borneo Wild CD.

I suppose we should be grateful for their efforts. With this knowledge of our genetic past, the success of the Jacksons seems suddenly becomes far less baffling. Moreover, this research has solved another mystery—the

I'm sorry, but any successor of Charlie Sheen would have sealed the deal. Put your hands on me, you damn dirty ape.

Postscript: Another new study suggests that chimpanzees and humans split from common ancestor just four million years ago, which is much more recently than current estimates of five to seven million years ago. The study also claims the common ancestor's name was *Waybe*—and he just got tired of the whole *anandron* thing.

Even those who accept that conclusion allow that the figure of four million years is by no means precise. A certain amount of wiggle room must be allowed. For instance, researchers recently discovered that the DNA of Matt LeBlanc diverged from cheetahs last Wednesday. ■

ON THE WEB: For Scott Feschak's take on the news of the day, visit his webblog www.medsense.ca/Feschak



CAROL ANNE HOSS (right) keeps a pomelo as a pet in *Field*.

EXHIBIT

DISPOSABLE ART

"Epiphany," an art-world "I word these days, is also the concept behind Jérôme Favre's delightful *Evans* (Screens), on display at MoMA's *MoMA after* contemporary until April 22. In it, a lot of addressees found an

Fortin counts time as one of his primary materials. Just by being there, the viewer joins in the formation of the ephemeral, mosaic-like



LET THE MADNESS BEGIN
Canada has its own policy: basketball tournament with

parade, which will come to action at the close of the show where the Quebecers artist install the hundreds of folded strips, attached with double-sided tape, to the stage wall. *Michelle Theriault*

DVD **3**

WHEN HANKS WAS



HILARIOUS

Seemingly, the film is about two guys who dress up as women to get an apartment, become an excuse for its young stars, Tom Hanks and Peter Sarsgaard, to improvise, use silly voices and display the



NOT DEAD YET

[illegible]

THEY WERE ROBBED
Though the Stalin combination (\$100 to 125 GE) creased 85 per cent of Pritz's existing gold artworks, the losses miserably got



all the credit with the 1991 discovery of an abandoned Scythian tomb and its 12 tonnes of grave goods. More than 120 intricately crafted objects, including the nobleman's death mask made out of a single gold sheet just 0.6 mm thick, are dazzlingly displayed in part of Ancient Persia Unearthed at Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum until Aug. 6. **Danica Todd**



PERFORMANCE **6**
CANADA'S COOLEST JAZZ CLUB
Since American bassist Steve Killy moved from New York City a few years ago to teach jazz at

bank by scoring so channel Al Green on some tracks—her smoky, off-the-chart voice and appearances by R. & B stars Lauryn Hill and Common make the young Ben's latest worthy of serious attention. **John Aurilio**

BARBARA JOYCE SCHEY

1938-2007

All her life she was precise, elegant and athletic, until a stumble set off a sudden chain of calamities

Barbara Joyce Schey was born on June 6, 1938, in Duluth, Minn., an industrial port town on Lake Superior. She was the second of two children born to Joyce Bell Remond and John F. Bell, a lawyer, who later became a judge. The Bells were a prosperous, middle-class family and lived in a four-bedroom Dutch colonial house on a lake road lined with mansions. John was a partner in the family firm Bell, Bell and Gull with his father Leo, one of Duluth's 19th-century pioneers, and Leo's associate Thomas Gull. Typical small-town lawyers, their careerwork ranged from divorce to criminal trials "to just about anything that walked through the door," says Barbara's brother, John Jr., four years her senior. Barb, in the meantime, was close to her prep school friends, and her death from intestinal cancer when she was just 32.

Elegant and trim, Barb was a homesick queen bee, first as a senior at Duluth's East High School, then in college, during the University of Minnesota's annual winter celebration, Snow Week. In spite of her popularity, Barb could hardly wait to escape Duluth. She dropped her New York City soon after graduating from the University of Minnesota-Duluth, and rarely returned.

Barb arrived in Manhattan in 1960 and found an apartment in a five-story brownstone off Central Park. Crime was on the rise, and "I talked about it to kids on her door," says John, who visited occasionally from the Midwest. But Barb drank up the name and fun of big-city life, particularly the emerging nightclub culture. John remembers Barb's real estate developer boyfriend, Bob Schey, whom she later married, buying him expensive cigars on the street after a night spent dancing among New York's young and prominent.

Barb worked in the New York fashion industry, first at Lord & Taylor, a department store on Fifth Avenue, then for the fashion board at Sears, Roebuck & Co. She quickly dropped her flat Minnesota accent in favor of something more cultured and Mid-Atlantic. "She had an air about her," says Barb's niece Susanne Olsen. "In others it would be termed coyness." To her Manhattan niece, however, Barb's pose and confidence seemed "royalty-like." Like her aunts, Barb's mannerisms grew more assured and exact in the big

city like even typed her checks and Post-it notes.

Her husband, Bob, was a typical Manhattan developer, John remembers: risk taker and bold. When not in New York, the couple shared houses in Aspen, Colo., where, as a college student, Barb had spent a spring skiing, and Stremet, Fla., where Bob had various development projects. Their marriage crumbled, however, and after the divorce, Barb decided to move to the Aspen area in 1994.

Soon after arriving, she joined the Aspen Real Estate Co. She became a top-selling broker—a lucrative career in a metropolitan market where the average home now costs \$3.5 million.

Although Barb, the cosmopolitan, kept her trademarked deep-red lipstick, she changed in Colorado. She grew to love the outdoors and the breathtaking mountain views. "I can just see her shopping her clients and saying, 'Just look!' and really meaning it," says Susanne. Barb skied, rode her horse, Catch 22, up and down the Roaring Fork Valley, and became an avid hiker and cyclist, all with typical precision and rigour.

"She was a natural in that environment," says John. On Friday, Feb. 23, Barb stepped out onto the snow-covered path off Basalt, Colo., roads, which had a mountain view she adored, and tripped over an extension cord plugged into the outer wall. She was sent flying, her head struck the dock's wooden railing,

and she sustained a deep, three-inch gash across her forehead. Unconscious and bloodied, investigators believe, Barb managed to pull herself to her feet, then somehow toppled off the dock. She dropped four metres, breaking three ribs when she landed. Barb got up once more and staggered across the yard, but fell into a shallow irrigation ditch where Basalt police found her body the next morning. "There had been a horrible snowstorm," says her close friend Carla Van Aleney, speculating as to why no one came to Barb's aid.

In Barb's kitchen, investigators found a plate of finely chopped vegetables and a quarter-pound of frozen breads the stove. The gas burner was on, and a frypan grin had gone purple, but from the floor. Throughout her life, Barb had kept a meticulous diary. Her last entry was written at 7 p.m., just before police believe Barb walked out on the dock. She had made a note to herself to get her

gym bag.

BY NANCY MACDONALD

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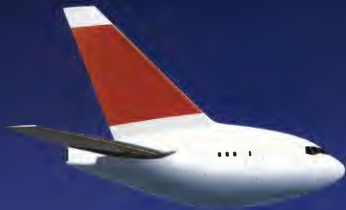
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